

PROTESTANT MISSIONS

THEIR RISE AND EARLY PROGRESS

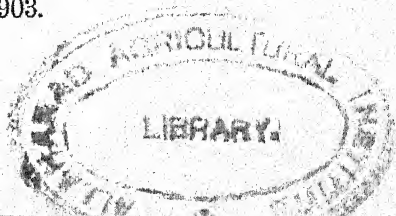
BY

A. C. THOMPSON, D. D.

AUTHOR OF "MORAVIAN MISSIONS," ETC., ETC.

STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT
FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

1903.



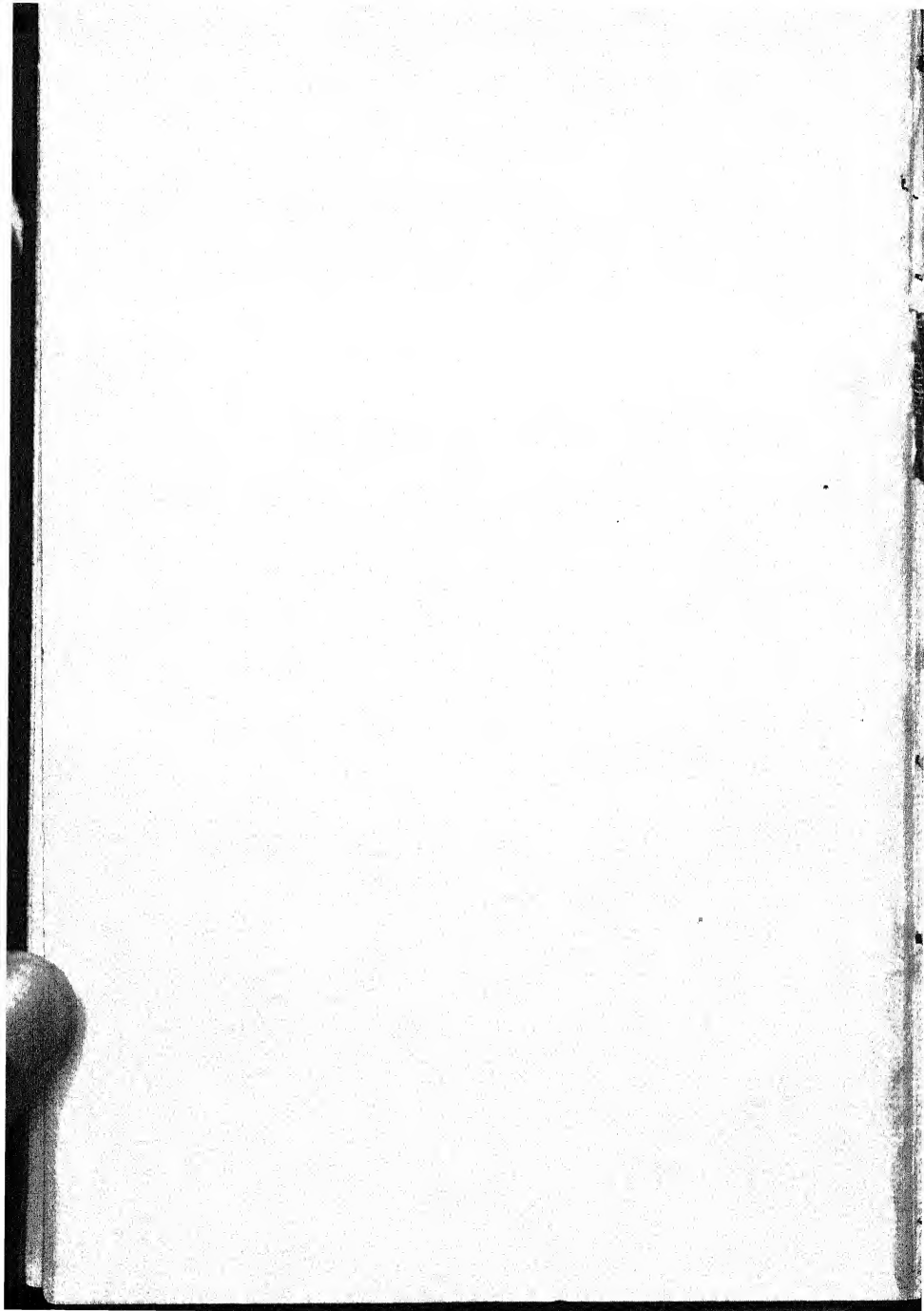
COPYRIGHT BY
A. C. THOMPSON.
1894.

THE CAXTON PRESS
NEW YORK

PREFACE

THE experience of the Educational Department of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions indicates that student study classes greatly appreciate those courses in which life is made prominent, either that of the races or of the missionaries themselves, with the great mission fields as their background. Missionary history, in order to be acceptable to such classes, needs to be linked to great lives and to needy peoples. It is because the author of this volume has so well succeeded in sketching salient facts in the annals of Protestant missions and in connecting them with heroic names that it has been chosen for use as a text-book. Yet for the reason that so much history is compressed within such brief limits, it should be used with other missionary literature at hand in order to fill in the sketch with color and additional life. An old work found in many libraries, W. Brown's "History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen since the Reformation," is the best available auxiliary for this purpose. Early colonial history also furnishes excellent supplementary material for those chapters having to do with Indian missions in America.

As this volume was originally published in 1894, a few changes, mainly of dates and statistics, have been made in order to make it correspond with facts at the beginning of the twentieth century.



CONTENTS

I. PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION. PAGES 3-21.

Limited Views—Sixteenth Century—Unfavorable Conditions, Political and Financial—No Aggressive Sentiment—Mistaken Eschatology—First Movements—Colony in Brazil—Work in Lapland—New Sweden—Movements Spasmodic and Individual—Peter Heyling—Von Welz.

II. EARLY DUTCH MISSIONS. PAGES 22-38.

The Netherlands—Opportunity for Missions—Evangelism in Mind—Missionary College—Various Localities—Eastern Archipelago—India—Surinam—Defects of Those Missions—Limited Term of Service—Vernaculars Not Mastered—Superficial Instruction—Secular Inducements—Present Dutch East Indies—Dutch Missionary Societies—Other Missionary Societies—Growth of Mohammedanism.

III. EARLY ENGLISH MOVEMENTS. PAGES 39-58.

Preliminary—The Reformation in England—Individual Movements—Alleine, Oxenbridge, Lake, Hyde, Cromwell, Boyle—New England Colonies Missionary—Secular Elements—Divine Design—Colonial Evangelism—Pilgrim and Puritan—The Indians—The Apostle Eliot—In England—Pastorate at Roxbury—The Language—His Incentives.

IV. JOHN ELIOT. PAGES 59-81.

His Methods—Initial Proceedings—Civilization Developing—Literary Labors, Works Original and Translated—Translation of the Bible—Comparative Embarrassments—A

Peerless Achievement—His Successes—Undoubted Conversions—Church Organization Delayed—Fruits of Labor—Trials and Disappointments, Personal, Relating to Indians, Hostilities, Decadence—Résumé—Results Perpetuated.

V. AMONG INDIANS. PAGES 82-116.

In Massachusetts, Southeastern Section—Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket—The Mayhews—Co-laborers and Successors—Results—Barnstable County—Plymouth—Massachusetts Colony—Berkshire County, John Sergeant—Jonathan Edwards—Other Laborers—General Considerations—In Rhode Island—Roger Williams—Church at Westerly—In Connecticut, Early Attempts—Eleazer Wheelock—Samson Occom—In New York and Other Colonies—Conclusion.

VI. DAVID BRAINERD. PAGES 117-147.

Brainerd's Influence—Religious Experience—Spiritual Struggles—Christian Outset—College Career—Religious Exercises—Forgiving Spirit—Sense of Sin—Aspirations after Holiness—Supreme Motive—Temperament—No Exaggeration—Missionary Life—Preliminary—At Kaunaumeeke—No Wavering—Among Delawares, At Forks of the Delaware—On the Susquehannah—At Crossweeksung—Impediments, In Traveling—Ill Health—Indian Character—Unfriendly Whites—The Language—Devotedness—Success—Revival Experiences—The Work Genuine—Numerical Results—Attestations—Methods—Evangelical Truth—Prevailing Prayer—Last Days.

VII. DANISH MISSIONS. PAGES 148-174.

Denmark and the Anglo-Saxons—Frederick IV—Origin of the Movement—First Missionaries—The Period—The Field—Early Experiences—Initial Labors—Disappointments—Maltreatment—Reinforcements—Ziegenbalg's Ardor—Visits Europe—Literary Labors—Early Death.

VIII. CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SCHWARTZ

PAGES 175-202.

Germany, 1750 — C. F. Schwartz — Outset — The Mission — Schwartz as Missionary — Trichinopoly Rock — Schwartz as Diplomatist — Caste — Schwartz's Celibacy — Devotedness — Unworldly — Longevity — Last Days.

IX. CRITIQUE UPON THE MISSION. PAGES 203-233.

Relations Vague — Decline — Decay Lamentable — Superficiality — Caste — Native Pastorate — Education — Subordinate Pursuits — Political Disorder — Persecution — Diversities — State Relations — Nominal Christians — Direct Results — Reflex Results — Resident Europeans.

X. HANS EGEDE. PAGES 233-260.

Arctic Regions — Hans Egede — Providential Leadings — Persistence — Encouragement Tardy — Greenland — Discouragements — Perseverance — Results — Mistaken Theory — Egede Returns — Heroism — Arctic Disasters — Genuine Nobility — Usefulness.

XI. MORAVIAN MISSIONS. PAGES 261-289.

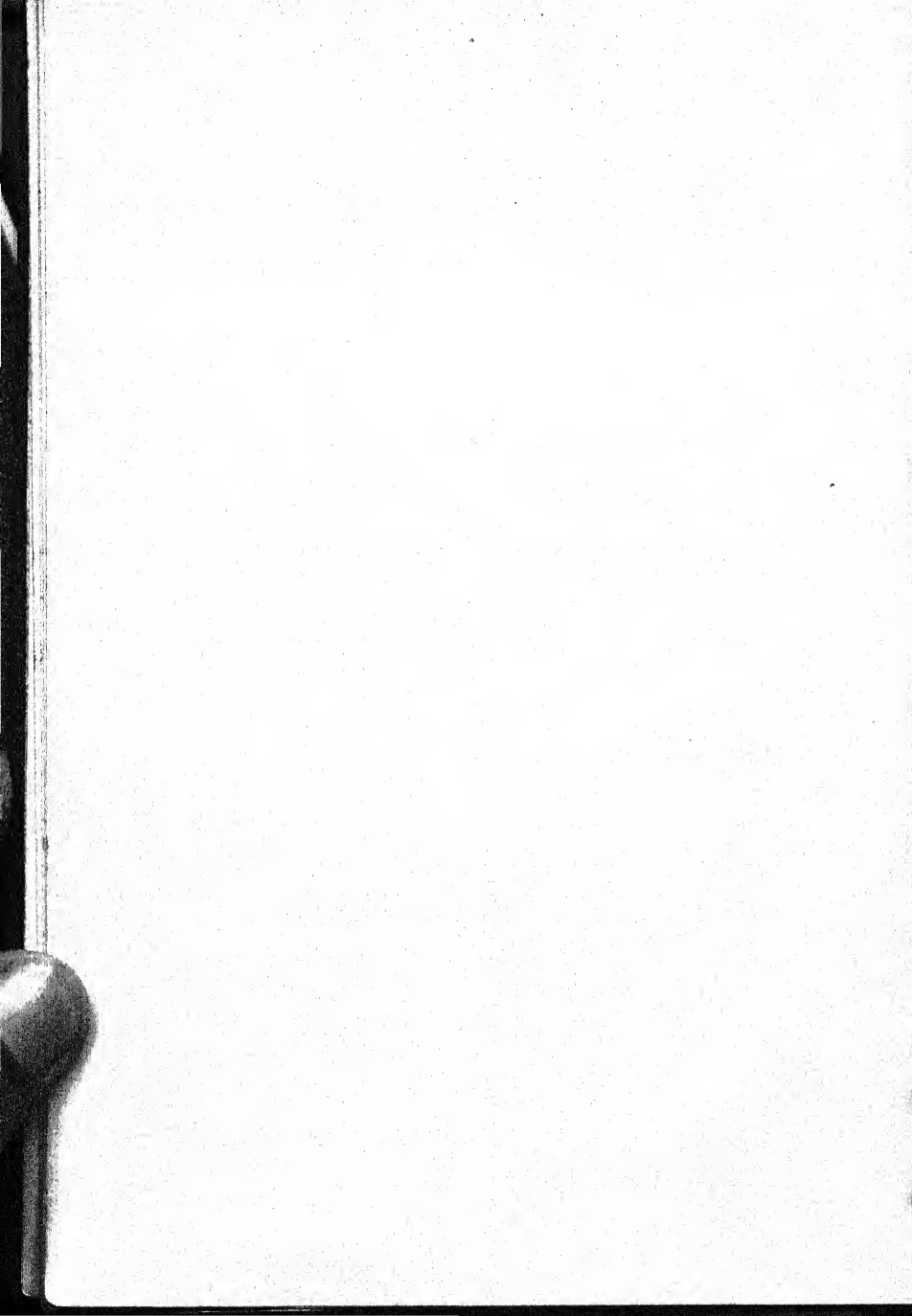
John Huss — Discipline — Moravian Antecedence — Zinzendorf — The Epoch — Motive Power — Christian Loyalty — Small, Great — Herrnhut, 1732 — Coincidences — First Missionaries — No Romanticism — Fidelity — August 21 — Fields and Forces — Burial Places — The Lesson.

APPENDIX. PAGES 291-310.



PROTESTANT MISSIONS

THEIR RISE AND EARLY PROGRESS



I

PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION

ON a Chinese map of the world, two feet by three and a half, the Celestial Empire occupies nearly the whole surface. In the left hand upper corner Europe and Africa appear as small islands. Such exaggerated local conceptions are by no means an Oriental peculiarity. The same may be noticed in every land, every neighborhood, and connected with every interest. Where, however, national or sectional vanity is in some measure corrected by geographical knowledge it often indemnifies itself by an overestimate of local excellencies. We are reminded of another instance of Eastern hyperbole. Ormuz, a barren rock in the Persian Gulf once of some little importance, occasioned the proverb, "The world is a ring, and Ormuz is the gem which it contains." In the religious and the churchly world a habit of excessive self-valuation often appears. Denominational optimism is nearly universal. Superiority of creed, culture, character, or worship is a claim which,

Limited
Views.

with varying degrees of obtrusiveness, shows itself on every side. Something of this may be seen in missionary movements. The periodicals and the platforms of different societies exhibit not unfrequently a certain amount of positive self-glorification, or the same is shown negatively by an ignorance or an ignoring of all others.

The prevailing representation is that modern missions took their rise near the close of the last century. Even on an occasion so nearly ecumenical as that of the London Missionary Conference in 1888, individual limitation of historical range was frequently manifest. Indeed the gathering, great and valuable as it was, proceeded upon the basis of "a century," "*the century*," of missions reckoned from 1788—a date having no special evangelistic significance, and as inappropriate as to reckon longitude eastward from nowhere, assuming that there is no terrestrial area west from Greenwich. Prevailing misapprehension, which often appears still in missionary literature, needs to be corrected and the remoter genesis of this enterprise examined. As there were reformers before the Reformation, so there were missions long before the present evangelistic era. An adequate study on that line may serve to cultivate in a self-complacent generation the wisdom of modesty.

Protestant missions, it will be noticed, are announced as now in hand. The very term *Protes-*

tant takes us at once to the sixteenth century Reformation. The genetic method of treatment—now happily becoming the more usual method—which recognizes the law of continuity in affairs human and divine, may seem to demand that we begin at the opening of the Christian era.

Period of the
Reformation.

That, however, would lead us through one belt of the entire wide field of church history down to modern times. But if in the course of the last eighteen hundred years there is any period at which a new order of things authorizes one to take a new and independent start in contemplating evangelistic aggressiveness is it not the great upheaval of the sixteenth century? For Christendom it was much the same as one of the vast geological convulsions in the crust of our globe.

Here at the very outset arises the question, Why were not foreign missions undertaken immediately upon that great overturning?

The reason is not far to find. There were conditions exceedingly unfavorable to such movements. Political, social, and financial affairs seemed to forbid anything of the kind. Christendom had become an ecclesiastical empire, the state was nearly everywhere absorbed in the church, and wealth was largely in the hands of the priesthood. The Head of the Holy Roman Empire, for example, received not a foot

Political and
Financial.



of territory in Germany or Italy with his imperial diadem. Maximilian affirmed that the pope had a hundred times as much revenue even from Germany as himself. The peasantry was everywhere in a deplorable condition. The knighthood had to a large extent degenerated into banditti. Religion was widely reduced to a round of externalities; it was paganized. The abominable system of indulgences had become prevalent. Monks, like a swarm of harpies, preyed upon the people. The clergy, exempt from criminal law, was widely corrupt. Having sole authority to solemnize marriage, holding the keys of the unseen world, an unscrupulous priesthood had ample opportunities to enrich itself; wills were probated only in ecclesiastical courts. Hades itself being annexed to the papal dominions, what fear of God or man could be expected to restrain a debased hierarchy? Religion became a synonym for extortion and social corruption. Not simply delinquencies, but debaucheries and atrocities prevailed. No wonder that an emperor of Austria—the comparatively respectable Maximilian—on learning the treachery of Leo X exclaimed: “This pope, like the rest, is in my judgment a scoundrel. Henceforth I can say that in all my life no pope has kept his word or faith with me. I hope, if God be willing, this one shall be the last of them.” Even the vacillating Erasmus, who never had the courage of his convictions, wrote: “All sense of

shame has vanished from human affairs. I see that the very height of tyranny has been reached. The pope and kings count the people not as men but as cattle in the market." Only those who had the courage of their ignorance could maintain willing fealty to such a system. If ever reform and revolution were needed on earth, was it not then? Papal Christendom had become as truly a missionary field as the unevangelized world is today. To reënthrone Christ instrumentally at the head of a spiritual Church was enough for men of the sixteenth century to accomplish. It was a struggle of life or death in which they were engaged. No thanks to Rome that Luther, Calvin, and Knox, instead of meeting the same fate as Savonarola, Ridley, and Cranmer, were permitted to die in their beds. With some show of reason might it be said there were neither men nor means for carrying on evangelism outside of the nominally Christian world. The social disturbances, insurrections, and wars that arose kept attention riveted upon more immediate surroundings.

It should be borne in mind, also, that the very idea of a foreign promulgation of such degenerate Christianity as then dominated Europe had become faint. The mighty spasm of the Crusades was not even military evangelism; their futility and folly were conspicuous. For three hundred years the Roman Catholic Church had nearly

ceased to be aggressive. Resistance to Moham-medans with force of arms appeared to be demanded on the Continent by the instinct of self-preservation. Emancipation of society from the papal thralldom under which it had long been held could not be expected to bring with

No	it immediate breadth and symmetry
Aggressive	of religious thought and enterprise.
Sentiment.	A victim escaping from the folds

of a boa-constrictor is presumably not in the condition of a vigorous athlete. Great moral ideas and forces destined to affect remote regions are always of slow growth. Is an earthquake a favorable opportunity for measurements of latitude and longitude?

There was yet another reason — an inadequate apprehension of the predicted future of Christ's kingdom on earth. Reference is not now made to the literalistic fanaticism of Anabaptists, nor to clearly defined millenarianism, which, if based upon sober though mistaken interpretation of prophecy, may be no impediment, may even be an incentive to universal evangelism. Reference is had rather to a want of duly expanded views concerning the predicted scope of our Lord's spiritual dominion here below. The Reformers somewhat generally appeared not to take in the thought that there is a divine purpose and an imperative duty concerning the spread of Christianity widely, most widely, beyond all limits

hitherto attained. Their eschatology lacked such clear and settled consistency as imparts calmness and persistent energy in toiling for a remote end. It was colored by that haste of opinions and impatience of expectation which always mark critical epochs and times of excitement. Extraordinary events, whether plagues, conflagrations, or persecutions, have often stimulated a belief that the second advent of Christ in bodily presence and visible reign on earth was near at hand, or else that the final judgment impended. It was assumed by Luther, for instance, that gospel promulgation had already reached its limits, and his eschatology neither suggested nor hardly admitted of foreign evangelism. He declared, "Another hundred years and all will be over."¹

Mistaken
Eschatology.

Not quite a decade, however, had gone by after the death of Luther when a missionary movement began. In the year 1555 Henry II of France sent out a colony to Brazil—a country which had been discovered only half a century before (1500). The noble Huguenot, Gaspard de Coligni, strongly favored the measure, hoping that a retreat might thus be found for his per-

¹ Gustav Warneck: *Abriss einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen*. Leipzig, 1882 and 1883. Translated by Dr. Thomas Smith: *Outline of the History of Protestant Missions*. Edinburgh, 1884. Pp. 11-22; 193-194.

secuted Protestant brethren. That year (1555) witnessed the abdication of Charles V in favor of his son, Philip II, and Protestants in any kingdom might well have forebodings. The colonial enterprise referred to was headed by the Chevalier de Villegagnon, an admiral in the French navy, who on arriving at Rio de Janeiro wrote back to Coligni for reinforcements, and wrote also to John Calvin, with whom he had been acquainted at the University of Paris,

Colony in
Brazil.

asking for divines from Geneva who should plant Christianity in that part of South America.¹ Accordingly the next year (1556) fourteen men, two of them clergymen, started from Geneva, and in passing through France to the place of embarkation, Harfleur, were joined by about three hundred more. Three ships, furnished by the government, conveyed the company to Rio de Janeiro, where they experienced severe hardships. Little could be effected in the way of evangelizing the natives, and yet a few conversions were reported. Villegagnon, apostatizing from the Protestant faith, proved a base traitor and as relentless a persecutor as any French cardinal could wish. That was contemporaneous with the martyrdom of Ridley and Latimer, the persecution by Bloody Mary being in full tide. In less than a year some of the company in Brazil

¹ Note 1.

embarked for Europe. A few of them escaped early by boat to the land they had just left, three of whom were, by orders from the infamous Villegagnon, thrown into the sea as heretics and drowned. One, named John Boles, a man of learning, escaped from the clutches of Villegagnon, but was arrested at the instance of Jesuits, confined in prison for eight years, and then, by order of the Portuguese governor, executed as a warning to his countrymen if any of them were still in concealment. The story of hardships, starvation included, experienced by those who embarked for Europe during their five months' voyage in an unseaworthy vessel have few parallels in maritime history.

Such were the character and speedy close of the first missionary adventure undertaken while the Reformation was yet in progress. It proved tragically abortive. Foreign evangelism was not, however, its mainspring. It was a colonial enterprise, inspired primarily and principally by the desire of escaping persecution at home; yet there entered into it a true missionary element, which showed that the claims of Christ's kingdom were not forgotten.

The result of the experiment in South America seems to us now all the more sadly humiliating when we call to mind the simultaneous vaunted successes of Xavier in the East. The Apostle to the Indies, so called, had already rung his bell

in the streets of Goa (1542); had labored among the pearl-fishers of Ceylon; had baptized thousands in Travancore; had visited Malacca and Japan; and near the coast of China, whither he was bound, had closed his truly remarkable yet generally overrated career (1552).

While it is the rise and early progress of missions that we are to consider, it will not be amiss just to glance now and then at later movements which have local or other relations. As regards Brazil, not till within the last century has Protestantism effected a lodgment in that country; recently an empire, now a republic, and the youngest on the face of the earth. Its area is nearly equal to that of Europe, and among its population, numbering about fourteen millions, various bodies, including Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, in the United States, as well as four societies or more in England—have established missions. The American Bible Society has aided the good work. One of the American societies operating there has gathered a goodly number of churches, and no Villegagnon can now banish evangelical Christians.

The second Protestant missionary movement
In of the sixteenth century originated
Lapland. in the year 1559, four years after
the foregoing; and we now turn from tropical
America to an arctic region of Scandinavia.
Sweden has the honor of its origin—in which

country Christianity first found lodgment about the year 1000, and was favored, as you recollect, by Olaf, its first king. You recall the labors at that period of Siegfried, the earnest English missionary. The Protestant Reformation had the patronage of Gustavus Vasa, cautious, yet bold when needful, and as resolutely vigorous as bold.

When in the twelfth century Sweden subdued Finland compulsory conversion took place, and the Christianity of the conquering people was not, as may well be imagined, of the highest type. The old heathenism had its strongholds still. But slight impression had been made upon it in Lapland at the north—now no longer a geographical unit—a region chiefly within the arctic circle, and where in our day is found the most northern town of continental Europe. A region where the sun does not rise in winter and where a night of three months reigns; a region largely of dreary swamps; a region nearly destitute at that time of hamlets—the sparse population being nomadic in their habits—was not a promising field for evangelistic effort. Arctic seas furnish only lower forms of animal life, and the tribes bordering upon those seas all round the northern land-circuit of our globe belong to the lower grades of civilization. But they belong to the human race—to those for whom Christ died and to whom it is his order

that the gospel be sent. King Gustavus felt in some measure the obligation, and sent a missionary thither. He also sent a proclamation ordering the people to assemble at a given time with a view to pay their annual tax and to receive religious instruction. But neither the Swedish language nor the royal mandate was an appropriate medium of evangelization. Little could be expected or was then effected. Yet the movement indicated the presence of an operative Scriptural idea. When in the next century Gustavus Adolphus, an earnest Protestant and the most illustrious monarch Sweden has ever had, interested himself in the work more was accomplished. During his reign the first book in the language of the Lapps was printed (1619) at Stockholm, and amidst his campaign in Germany he was still mindful of that people.

The eighteenth century likewise witnessed a certain amount of Swedish enthusiasm, temporarily at least, in behalf of Laplanders. The national Diet passed a resolution that the entire Sacred Scriptures should be translated into Lapponese. Within the present century the British and Foreign Bible Society has offered generous aid toward the supply especially of New Testaments in that language. Yet to this day the Christianity of the Lapps is of a low type. While no great amount of vital piety, a great amount of intemperance may be witnessed. As with fruit trees in Lap-

land, which are stunted and bear little or no fruit, so with the churches.

The year 1637 was the date of a Swedish settlement on the east bank of the river Delaware in our country. This settlement bore the name of New Sweden. The enterprise, undertaken by a sturdy agricultural people, received encouragement from Oxenstiern, one of the greatest of statesmen, ranking with Coligni of France, in the foregoing century. From the mother country clergymen came to minister to the colonists, and also engaged to some extent in work among neighboring Indians. Campanius began Christian endeavor in behalf of the Delawares even earlier than John Eliot commenced his labors near Boston. Campanius preached in the vernacular, and translated Luther's catechism, as well as other elementary productions. The colony, however, adhered to the crown of Sweden only for a score of years. There was conflict with the Dutch of New Amsterdam, now New York. Two forts, Casimir and Christina, had been erected, but an expedition under Governor Stuyvesant captured them and took the officers and principal inhabitants prisoners. Mission work ceased, and the colonists, becoming at length absorbed in the surrounding community, lost their native language.

A few sporadic and individual movements also occurred. The case of Peter Heyling, the

first German Protestant missionary, was unique, not only as that of a solitary standard bearer, but as involved in a certain amount of romance. Born at Lübeck in 1608, he went when twenty years of age (1628) to Paris for a four years' course of study. The Thirty Years' War, which so devastated Germany (1618-1648), destroying half her population and entailing serfdom upon

Peter
Heyling.

her peasantry, was then in progress, and it was the era of fierce orthodoxy but of religious decline in the Lutheran Church. Young Heyling, however, had imbibed evangelical views and spirit from the writings of Luther, Arndt, Tauler, and Thomas à Kempis. At Paris he appears to have been in some measure on terms of intimacy with Grotius, then Dutch ambassador at the French court. More noteworthy was his association with other like-minded evangelical German students in Paris. Heyling became convinced that foreign missionary service was obligatory, and the same year that Jesuits were expelled from Abyssinia (1632) he, though not aware of this fact, started for that country. Stopping at Malta he studied the Arabic, then visited Alexandria, Cairo, and Jerusalem. He formed the acquaintance of Coptic monks at their monasteries in Egypt, and appears to have been everywhere faithful to his evangelical convictions and not wholly without success in promoting spiritual interests. At

length, in 1634, he had opportunity to accompany the new *Abûna* on his way to Abyssinia, where Heyling met with a favorable reception, and besides other labors translated the New Testament into Amharic as then spoken, thus performing a service similar to what Frumentius did twelve hundred years before.

In the career of Heyling there are points of resemblance to that of Henry Martyn, and one is that he died on his way back to Europe.¹

It is a coincidence not unworthy of notice that just two hundred years after Heyling started (1632) for Abyssinia two representatives of the Church Missionary Society, one of them afterwards Bishop Gobat, started (1832) for the same country. Others, Isenberg and Krapf, followed (1837); and the St. Chrischona Institution, near Basle, has also sent out several men. But at the present time there are no Protestant missionaries in that Switzerland of Africa — a fact due largely to Roman Catholic intrigue. Would that some Ethiopian treasurer might now receive the baptism of the Spirit and go on his way of home evangelism rejoicing!

Among individuals in the seventeenth century deeply moved on the subject of missions Justinian Von Welz stands conspicuous. He was a baron belonging to an ancient and honorable Austrian family, and born

¹ Note 2.

December 12, 1621. That year witnessed a total suppression of Protestantism in Bohemia, followed by a fearful persecution of malcontents, and the father of Welz removed to Saxony. It was not strange that the first publication, in his twentieth year, of young Welz, who had been well educated, should be an able treatise on tyranny.¹ He became profoundly impressed with the obligation of Christians to send the gospel to Mohammedans and the heathen, and beginning in 1664 he issued successive appeals to the German nobility, university professors, and the clergy, setting forth vigorously the claims of the unevangelized. Nor was he a mere unpractical declaimer. He deposited twelve thousand German dollars toward the establishment of a seminary for the education of missionary candidates, and advocated the establishment of a missionary department or college in all Protestant universities, each to have three professors—one of Oriental languages, one of evangelistic methods, and one of ecclesiastical history and geography. His appeals were more especially to those holding the Augsburg Confession, and he put questions plain and pertinent like these: "Is it right to keep the gospel to ourselves? Is it right that students of theology should be confined to home parishes? Is it right

¹ *Tractatus de tyrannide*. Lugduni Batavorum. 1641. In 1643 a second edition appeared, with the title *De Tyrannorum ingenio et arcanis artibus Liber*. Lugduni Batavorum.

for Christians to spend so much on clothing, eating, and drinking, and to take no thought to spread the gospel?" A few Lutheran pastors and university professors expressed approbation of the object urged by Welz, but interest enough to form a missionary society could not be evoked. Superintendent Ursinus, of Regensburg—not Zacharias Ursinus, who was of the preceding century—wrote against the proposed movement and grossly abused the baron. The attitude of Ursinus and his qualification for judging a man inflamed with the missionary spirit may be learned from what he says of the Greenlanders, Lapps, Tartars, and Japanese, "The holy things of God are not to be cast before such dogs and swine!" It is doubtful if a sheet let down from heaven, with all manner of four-footed beasts, would have convinced him, as it did Peter, that such Gentiles are entitled to have the gospel. Welz could obtain the publication of his works only in Holland.

True there was a tinge of enthusiasm in this man. The absence of all effective sympathy for the undertaking proposed and indifference to plain Christian duty stirred a measure of indignation on his part. Some degree of acerbity and impatience mingled unwisely with his animadversions, but a fanatic he was not. His motives were unimpeachable, his perseverance laudable, and at length, having resigned titles of honor, he went

out to Surinam, the Dutch colony which has been spoken of, as a missionary to the heathen, where he soon died, in the year 1668.

In the Lutheran Church that was a period of lifeless orthodoxy and of fierce polemics. To the worldliness and torpidity of that church must be charged mediately the heated spirit and almost heartbreak of this self-sacrificing man. Reasonable response to his clarion summons would probably have saved him to a noble service in the church and for the church and have proved an unmeasured benediction to Germany. He was the Count Zinzendorf of that period, in advance of his age, and without Zinzendorf's favoring opportunity for usefulness.

Most meager, then, were the missionary movements and results of Protestantism in the sixteenth century. Indeed, as now commonly understood, missions, denoting evangelism among a foreign people the main aim, hardly existed. A migration abroad for political and personal reasons is not *missionary*, while Christian endeavor in behalf of one's fellow citizens or one's subjects is *home* missionary. Still, the new religious life that was awakened at the Reformation had a germ destined to expand and bear fruit as time went on.

In all human affairs movements comparatively ill-advised, badly administered, and abortive usually precede and help to prepare for those more

wisely planned and which give more assurance of success. Not only so, but beneficent enterprises usually have an inconspicuous origin. There is an old proverb, "The streams which turn the mill clappers of the world often rise in solitary places."

II

EARLY DUTCH MISSIONS

THE Protestant movements of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries, collective and individual, though feeble and well-nigh fruitless, revealed germinant thoughts. The blade was then scarcely above ground; in the eighteenth century the ear was to be seen; the full corn in the ear did not show itself before the era in which we now live.

Advancing from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century we observe an evolution from a precursory period into a period preliminary to formal missionary organization. Here Holland first attracts our attention. The enterprising spirit of the Dutch was at once a prophecy and a pledge that the Protestant Reformation would find lodgment in the Netherlands. Nowhere else, however, in Europe were its advent and progress met by heavier persecution or more high-handed tyranny. No one whose nerves are not firm, and who has not self-control sufficient to curb an indignation

that might cause rupture of the heart, should read the history of Holland at that period. The Emperor Charles V, after sanctioning many a holocaust of Protestants, resigned the sovereignty of the Netherlands and other hereditary possessions (1555) in favor of his son, Philip II. His dying injunction to this worthy successor reads, "Deal to all heretics the extremest rigor of the law, without respect of persons and without regard to any favoring pleas." Never was an atrocious order carried out with more truculent persistency. Philip, by nature cold and cruel, schooled himself systematically in deception, yet was punctiliously bigoted in observing outward religious formalities. Destitute of principle, he was dominated by the notion that royalty is irresponsible, that deceit is the soul of diplomacy, and, before all, that no faith is to be kept with heretics. Nothing more clearly reveals his character than some of his orders and utterances. "All who reject Rome," he wrote, "are heretics. Enforce the edicts against all sectaries, without any distinction or mercy, if they be merely spotted with Luther's errors."

This sullen and relentless despot had no difficulty in finding sympathetic agencies—a pope ready with dispensations for perjury, a cardinal steeped in the ethics of Jesuitism, and a generalissimo unmatched in diabolism save by the prince of darkness. Duke Alva is to be mentioned only

with bated breath, his doings recorded only in lurid lines shading off harmoniously with the pit of outer darkness. His sentiments at one with those of his master in Spain, he could write congenially to Catherine de' Medici, in whose soul was hatched the Saint Bartholomew massacre. After the destruction of Naardin he could write to Philip, "The army cut the throats of all; not a mother's son was left alive." His last act before leaving Netherlands was to roast over a slow fire a Protestant gentleman of Ghent. On the journey back to Spain he boasted that in a five years' administration eighteen thousand and six hundred citizens had been done to death by the headsman; but in that boast no account was taken of the thousands upon thousands of both sexes and all ages, victims of battle, siege, famine, and massacre.

The tools of Alva and his successors in office were of the same school of religious and political malignity. Protestants were looked upon simply as so much prey, and their possessions as lawful booty. Women were buried alive merely for reading the Bible. Men were sacrificed with no charge of overt offense, but only for their thoughts. Throngs of ancient heathens could shout *Ad leones* ("To the lions") with the Christians; but it was reserved for Christian Spaniards to shout *Ad patibulum* ("To the gallows") with men whose only crime was lack of faith in a heathen-

ized Christianity. It was not only in war time that brutality and butchery were rife, but in the leisure of peace. Tens of thousands of refugees betook themselves to other countries; trade and manufactures were at times nearly suspended; dikes were down; cattle were swept away; dwellings — whole cities, indeed — were burned to the ground.

Jehovah of hosts interposed. Never since Israel's great lawgiver and general had there been raised up for the deliverance of a harried people a man more self-poised, more sagacious as a statesman, more self-sacrificing as a patriot, more trustful in the God of justice, than William the Silent. Once only in the long struggle against desperate odds did he lose heart. It became a question whether the inhabitants should not flee the land, open all the sluices, and let the sea once more have sway, washing a soil so plentifully stained with innocent blood. But William dismissed the thought; he continued to plan wisely and to act with energy.

Out of such materials as remained after the Spanish Inquisition and the armies of Spain had done their work he founded the Dutch Republic. To his immortal honor be it recorded, he was the first of modern rulers in Europe to proclaim and act upon the principle of religious toleration, and that, too, in spite of provocation to retaliate such as no European ruler ever had. Philip set a price

upon his head, and he fell (1584) by the hand of a Catholic assassin.

Not till 1590 did the seven provinces succeed in finally expelling the Spaniards, and not till nineteen years later (1609) did they secure recognition of their independence of Roman Catholic archdukes. It is a decisive proof of recuperative energy and signal enterprise that they should so soon after the wild butchery and robbery to which they had been subjected begin to compete with Spain and Portugal for the lucrative trade of the East, and should secure a permanent foothold in

Opportunity for Missions. Java (1595), an island larger than Portugal. Before long a Dutch East India Company is chartered (1602), having powers and a history not unlike that of England, which was incorporated two or three years before (December 31, 1599). A little later still (1607) conquests began. The Moluccas were subdued and the Portuguese rule in Ceylon was terminated. Just one hundred years after the Portuguese began to secure possessions in the Orient (1509) the States General of Holland appointed (1609) a governor general of their new acquisitions in the same quarter. Before very many years Spanish and Portuguese possessions and trade in the East were to a large extent captured by the Dutch.

It might be expected that a people who had carried to its successful issue a long struggle with

the autocrat of half the civilized world—a people whose martyrs could go to the stake singing *Te Deum laudamus*, whose very country was created by the Reformation, would bethink themselves early of religious duty to those far away as well as to those living behind their native dikes.

There is evidence that evangelization was in the thoughts of Protestant Hollanders from the very outset of their commercial enterprises. Letters patent granted to the East India Company, like those of the English colonies in the same century, show that at least a subsidiary and ostensible object was to make known

Evangelism
in Mind.

the gospel among heathen peoples. The want of men duly qualified and ready for pastoral, chaplain, and missionary service gave rise at the opening of this period to efforts for supplying the deficiency. The directors of the company just named showed (1616) that they had in mind a college for that purpose. Two years later appeared a stirring appeal¹ on the duty of sending the gospel to India. It was dedicated to Prince Maurice, and urged motives similar to what have since been pleaded by English Christians regarding possessions on both sides of the Ganges. The author, Justus Heurnius, was then a student of theology, who afterwards became himself a missionary and who reminds us of our Gordon Hall. Nor was this the only

¹ *Admonitio de legatione evangelica ad Indos capissenda.*

work of the kind at that early day. Sebastian Dankkaerts, a preacher in Amboyna, the most important island of the Molucca group, wrote ably in behalf of the cause. His book, printed (1621) with the approbation of the faculty at Leyden, was dedicated to the States General. The same year, and it was one year after the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, the synod of South Holland took action relating to mission work in the East. Some friends of the cause entertained the thought of having natives sent to Holland for education; some proposed a training school, besides other schools, in the East. The directors of the East India Company sought counsel from the faculty at Leyden in relation to a seminary or college for educating laborers who should go out to their

**Missionary
College.**

foreign possessions.¹ Such a thought was in advance of anything known at the time elsewhere on the Continent or in England. A plan embracing twenty specifications was drawn up by Anthony Walæus, one of the professors, who became the principal of the college or seminary. He drafted twenty-two well-considered regulations relating to domestic habits and to the studies of the young men. In the seminary Latin was to be the sole language of social intercourse. He gave instruction regarding methods of reaching the heathen and of training converts.

¹ *Seminarium Indicum.*

It is a noteworthy coincidence that the same year (1622) which witnessed the founding of this institute was signalized also by the establishment at Rome¹ of the Catholic Propaganda, consisting of thirteen cardinals, two priests, and a monk, having for its object foreign missions and the conversion of heretics; but the Catholic college for training missionaries dates five years later (1627). The celebrated Propaganda remains to this day an efficient institution for systematic proselytism, while the seminary at Leyden lasted only ten years and graduated only twelve alumni.²

The chief object of nearly all ministers who went to the Netherlands East Indies was, it should be stated, the religious welfare of Dutch residents, yet the heathen and Roman Catholics were also in mind. A good deal was done, from time to time, toward supplying native converts of different nationalities with the Word of God. It deserves notice that at this period Grotius wrote (1627) his celebrated work on *The Truth of Christianity*³ expressly for the aid of missionaries.

In the East Indies missionary work was carried on at numerous points. Among the earlier ordained men who went from Holland to the East must be reckoned some able and evangel-

¹ By the bull *Inscrutabili divinæ providentiæ arcano*.

² Dr. J. A. Grothe in *Missionszeitschrift*. Band IX. 1882. S. 16-26; 85-92.

³ *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*.

ical ministers. Numerous conversions were reported.¹ Thus within a year or two (1621) after the founding of Batavia as the capital of

Various
Localities. Netherlands East Indies many thousand baptisms were said to have taken place. In 1627 the first Dutch

minister, George Candidius, appeared at a place called Fort Zeeland, on Formosa, "the beautiful island," off the coast of China. Robert Junius, who was sent out (1631) by the governor of the United Provinces, mastered the language of that island, and it is stated that in the course of twelve years five thousand nine hundred heathens were brought to Christ by him. So many were, at least,

Eastern
Archipelago. baptized. He gathered twenty-three congregations and provided pastors for them. He trained native assist-

ants. At one time there were eight stationed preachers, and by 1645 word was sent, "The people of Formosa are no longer heathen."² But in 1661 the famous Chinese pirate, Coxinga, invaded the island, slaughtered many of the converts, and for nearly two hundred years Formosa was again given up to heathenism.

The Dutch secured a foothold on the southern peninsula of India, and in 1636 there was at

¹ Brown, William: *History of Missions*. Third edition. 1864. Vol. I, pp. 10-30. R. Grundemann: *Die evangelische Mission in Indischen Archipel*. Burkhardt, 1880.

² Note 3.

Pulicat, twenty miles north from Madras, a congregation of Protestant Christians, the first anywhere in the eastern portion of that continent. Portuguese sway on Ceylon having given way to that of Netherlands, Hornhonius, the pioneer Dutch minister on that island, arrived 1642. In the progress of conquest and civil administration multitudes of alleged conversions took place. Only five years later (1647) the Dutch introduced Christianity into Amboyna. Forty years after that (1686) one minister at the capital had, if a statement is to be credited, baptized something like thirty thousand converts. Further details of this seventeenth century work in the Orient are not needed to show that territorially it was wide and numerically considered it was fruitful.¹

An endeavor in South America also deserves notice. Possessions were acquired (1624) by Netherlands in Guiana — then a part of Brazil, now Surinam — and there was a Dutch West India Company as well (1621). That company, even more than the one operating in the East Indies, had regard to the evangelizing of native tribes. This was due in large measure to the decidedly religious character of John Maurice, of Nassau, who, as governor general, with twelve ships, arrived at Pernambuco in January, 1637. In mil-

¹ Note 4.

itary command and in civil administration he exhibited much wisdom and efficiency. Like William the Silent he aimed at religious toleration. Portuguese Catholics and Jews had occasion to trust and respect him. He

Surinam. introduced Protestant preachers; he established schools; he encouraged useful translations into the native vernacular. Niggardliness, misnamed economy, on the part of the company's directors obliged Maurice to resign his office (1644). The colony began at once to decline, and at length, in 1667, was surrendered to the Portuguese. This Protestant endeavor, though by no means so disastrous as that farther south in Brazil a century before, left no permanent fruits.¹

Returning now to the work as carried on in the East Indies, we must look at certain of its features, and we shall be compelled to acknowledge that no small discount must be made. The

Brief Service. regulation term of service for ministers going out from the mother country was only five years, which implied a very different attitude of mind and degree of interest in the field from what would have been were the enlistment for life.²

¹ Prof. Theo. Christlieb in *Missionszeitschrift*. Band VII. 1880. S. 564-574, and authorities there cited.

² Note 5.

Comparatively few of the ministers acquired sufficient knowledge of native languages to communicate freely with those who Vernaculars used them. Without such mastery not Mastered. of a vernacular preachers can have small reasonable hope of usefulness.

A more serious criticism relates to the insufficient conditions required for baptism, and the general superficiality of religious instruction. Like a frequent Roman Catholic usage, it was a singular and inexcusable defect to demand so little knowledge of the great truths of our holy religion and no evidence of a heart-acceptance of the same preparatory to an ordinance which sealed the subject as a Christian professor. Evidence of spiritual conversion not being required, only a religious veneering could be expected, and to a wide extent not even Superficial Instruction. so much was put on. A duplicate life might too generally be seen—that of nominal Christianity and one of real heathenism, just as Julian the Apostate would pray to Christ by day and to some Roman divinity by night. Indiscriminate baptism is a bane instead of a blessing—is a mockery of “the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost.”

But the most censurable feature of Dutch administrative proceedings in the East was the political bounty put upon a profession of Christianity. The Portuguese predecessors of the Dutch had, by

presenting unworthy motives, secured multitudes of adherents, and Oriental aptitude for hypocrisy had thus received special culture at Western hands. There was all the more readiness for another religious somersault when worldly interest made that a politic maneuver. Baptism being a condition of employment, of promotion, and even of protection under law by new masters, Catholics and heathens alike were only too ready to qualify in this cheap way for secular advantages. Thousands upon thousands needed no persuasion

Secular
Inducements.

beyond obvious social and pecuniary perquisites to renounce Brahmanism, Buddhism, or Romanism. When at a later day certain Netherlands possessions were captured by the English, and Protestantism no longer held out attractions of lucre or honor, open relapse was a most natural result. When the vanquishers retired their religion vanished, and no martyrdom for Christ's sake, as in Madagascar, could be looked for. Where no change of moral character takes place change of name costs nothing to conscience and is only a matter of loss or gain. Let evangelism become a department of civil government¹ and Christ's spiritual kingdom will make little progress. Of that kingdom the Dutch in their mission work entertained inadequate views, and nowhere is theological deficiency, unconcern, or error so mischievous as on missionary ground.

¹ Note 6.

It will be a pardonable digression if we glance at present operations. That island group, the Dutch East Indies, of which we now speak — forming a bridge from the Continent to Australia, and through which midway passes the equator — is the largest archipelago in the world. Its collective area equals nearly one third of continental Europe, and at the present time has a population of between twenty and thirty millions — a larger number than Great Britain — and next to India is the most valuable foreign possession belonging to any country. The Dutch are now the most influential power there, and their possessions, an empire in extent, unlike India, yield income to the national exchequer.

Dutch
East Indies.

After a long, dreary period of mechanical and external Christianity in the East and of religious decline in the home country, a revived missionary spirit began to show itself in Holland about a century since. This stood connected with the evangelistic uprising in England. The celebrated Vanderkemp, who soon after entered the service of the London Missionary Society (1798), was active in the formation (1797) of the Netherlands Missionary Society, which has carried on work in Java, Amboyna, and Celebes and reports (1899) 1,722 communicants, and adherents in much larger numbers (10,836). Half a century went by before any other missionary move-

ment took place. As the Rhine comes down turbid from the south, so from the same quarter a stream of rationalistic influences has left muddy deposits in Holland. The administration of the forenamed society having fallen into the hands of unevangelical men, the Dutch Missionary Society was founded (1858) by men of a different type of belief and action. Their chief work has been among the Sundanese, of Western Java, who number four millions and are Mohammedans. Evangelism among Mohammedans every-

Dutch
Societies.

where encounters special obstacles, yet since the commencement of operations some measure of success has been realized there, and the Bible has been given to the people in their own tongue. A year later (1859) another organization, the Dutch Reformed Missionary Society, was founded at Amsterdam. Its distinctive principle is that churches, not societies, should conduct such work. Its chief field is in Central Java. There are yet other societies in Holland—about a dozen all told—with between fifty and a hundred missionaries scattered over the archipelago. In the Celebes a flourishing operation has been carried on; numerous adherents have been gained.¹

¹ J. C. Neurdenberg: *Geschiedenis tegenover Kritiek*. Rotterdam, 1864. R. Grundemann: *Johann Friedrich Riedel, ein Lebensbild aus der Minahassa auf Celebes*. Gütersloh, 1873.

Dutch evangelism in the East has been conducted during the present century upon sounder principles than in the seventeenth century, yet there appears still to be too great readiness to administer baptism.¹

The Rhenish Missionary Society, also, having begun in 1836, carries on work in two or three islands of that widespread group. Nor is it wholly out of place to add here that the American Board established a mission at Batavia as long ago as 1836. Special embarrassments were met with, and after a dozen years the undertaking was relinquished (1849). The same board contemplated also a mission in Sumatra, an island twice as large as Holland itself; but the two pioneers, Lyman and Munson, were killed by the Battas (1834), and with that sad event the enterprise terminated.² The Presbyterian Church of England began work in Formosa 1865, and seven years from that time the Presbyterian Church of Canada opened work on the island.

Other
Societies.

Regarding the Netherlands East Indies, certain circumstances not yet alluded to are sadly suggestive. Prior to the Dutch possessions in this

¹ Brown, William: *History of Christian Missions*. Third edition. In three volumes. London, 1864. Vol. I, pp. 514-519.

² Thompson, William: *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Munson and the Rev. Henry Lyman*. New York, 1839. *The Martyr of Sumatra: a Memoir of Henry Lyman*. New York, 1856.

Eastern Archipelago Mohammedanism had obtained but little hold comparatively. Wherever Islam at the present time encounters heathenism it gains proselytes, and this is especially true where natives are more immediately under Dutch rule. Government officials have a train of infe-

Growth of
Moham-
medanism. rior officers, as clerks, interpreters, policemen, and tradesmen, and the Malay is the language of common intercourse, but nearly all who learn the Malay become Mohammedans. Thus under a European Christian power Mohammedanism is making more progress than anywhere else on the face of the earth.

Government neutrality, as it is called, regarding religion operates often, as in British India, adversely to the interests of Christianity.¹ Holland has not yet fulfilled the evident providential purpose for which she was brought into connection with numerous unevangelized peoples. She has enriched herself without communicating largely the riches of the kingdom.

¹ Dr. Schreiber in *Proceedings of the General Conference on Foreign Missions, held in London, 1878*. London, 1879. Pp. 137-141. Also, A. Schreiber: *Die Kirche und die Mission in Niederländisch Indien*. Leyden, 1883.

III

EARLY ENGLISH MOVEMENTS

WE have seen that in the line of foreign evangelization little could reasonably be expected during the sixteenth century Reformation. We have seen that perfidy and bitter disappointment awaited the first Protestant mission. We have seen that superficial Roman Catholic conquests in heathen lands might be followed in some instances by Protestant methods scarcely less superficial; that it matters little who presents the mercenary motives of office and emolument as a bonus on church membership; such conversions can be depended upon as spurious. Virtual coercion by the Dutch in their East India possessions — the penalty of imprisonment or the whipping post for participating in heathen rites — was a school of hypocrisy and aversion to Christianity. A great mistake teaches a great lesson.

The seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth were, in spiritual and evangelistic conditions, the Dark Ages of Protestantism. Yet there were gleams of light — foregleams of

the brighter day that has since dawned. What seemed to be isolated and exceptional tokens of expansive religious life were, after all, proof of continuous vitality, sometimes manifestly increasing in volume and then apparently

Preliminary. ebbing. The stream, however, was perennial though feeble, like the Orange River of South Africa, which in a part of its course loses by evaporation more than is gained by a few affluents, but which at length makes its contribution to the great sea.

We now resume incipient missionary movements in the seventeenth century, and particularly those from Great Britain. Our own political and social condition and the very blood in our veins have intimate concern in the country and the period to which thought now turns. Protestant evangelism this side of the Atlantic was the earliest undertaken or fostered by the English, and is to be contemplated in connection with events anterior to the colonial period.

In England the great convulsion of the sixteenth century began otherwise than on the Continent; it began as revolution rather than reformation. The realm had been ecclesiastically governed by Rome; but there now came a political revolt from Rome, not the triumph of a party, but the exploit of a nation. It was due less to a revival of religious truth than to an exigency of the state. At first the needs of the

Church had not so much to do with it as the future of the throne. Henry the Eighth cared little for doctrine and less for liberty so he might make sure of the succession to his own family. General freedom of thought and religious toleration were nearly as foreign to the king's purpose then as they had been in any former reign. Religious supremacy was simply transferred from the Vatican to the royal palace of England; heresy was still a penal offense; and thus things continued substantially all through Tudor and Stuart domination. Along with the gradual yet partial spread of Protestantism came a contest with monarchical and ecclesiastical prerogative. Arbitrary proceedings, for the most part, characterized monarchy, while tyrannical intolerance characterized high churchism. James the First, that compound of pedantry, arrogance, and meanness, gave utterance to the prevailing sentiment of a long line of crowned heads, most of whom had a more prudent tongue, though a mind no less domineering than his. "It is presumption," said he, "and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king may do, or say that a king cannot do this or that." But such exuberant insolence was destined to rough abatement. Exaction, perfidy, profligacy, were to encounter deserved rebuke. The scaffold gave significant warning when it brought the next reign to a close. Oli

Reformation
in
England.

ver Cromwell did not hesitate to say that, meeting a king in battle, he would shoot him as soon as any man. At the opening of his second Parliament he announced a sentiment than which none more just was ever listened to by legislators: "The mind is the man. If that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat; if not, I would fain see what difference there is 'twixt him and a beast." For a century the struggle went on; slowly the spirit which was to effect freedom of speech and of the press at last became vigorous. Fines, imprisonments, mutilation, and burning helped on the movement toward securing a representative government—a government not for the few but for the many. Pilgrim and Puritan found no sanction in God's Word for kingly jurisdiction over men's thoughts and beliefs, and so left the mother country, which had become an intensely cruel stepmother. For more than a century England has now at last had sovereigns who were moderately capable of learning lessons from their people.

As on the continent of Europe, so in Great Britain there were, only more numerous, single schemes during the seventeenth century, which for the most part proved transient and ineffectual. They show, however, that evangelistic duty was gaining place in the thoughts of Christian people. Even in the previous century such thoughts were not wholly wanting. Hakluyt re-

lates that on board one of Frobisher's fifteen ships, with which that enterprising navigator sailed (1578) in search of a northwest passage to India, was a minister by the name of Wolfall, who had it in charge not only to act as chaplain of the fleet, but also to remain for a time in Greenland and attempt the conversion of natives there. But the expedition was a failure, and missionary work out of the question.

Individual
Movements.

As time rolled on civil and ecclesiastical oppression set good men to thinking of the unevangelized, who were in a condition yet more deplorable than their own. Joseph Alleine, author of a book widely read, *An Alarm to the Unconverted*, was an earnestly pious man, and, after being ejected from his living at Taunton by the Bartholomew Act, made up his mind to proceed to China or some other heathen country where he might preach the gospel, which was forbidden him to do in England; but he did not carry out the resolution. The Rev. John Oxenbridge, ejected by the same forenamed act of intolerance, went with missionary purposes to Surinam, South America, and thence to the island of Barbadoes. He afterwards came to Boston, where he published a small book entitled *A Proposition of Propagating the Gospel by Christian Colonies in the Continent of Guiana*. He died in Boston, 1674. A good deal of interest began to be felt

in the North American tribes, and, for instance, Dr. Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, declared that nothing but old age kept him from going out as a missionary. The learned Dr. Thomas Hyde, professor of Arabic at Oxford, and afterwards professor of Hebrew, proposed (1677) that Christ Church, Oxford, should be used as a training college for missionary candidates.

Oliver Cromwell at an earlier date had a scheme for changing old Chelsea College into a sort of Downing Street center of council and of training evangelists for the Indies, East and West, for Turkey and Scandinavia, as well as for labor among Roman Catholics. His project was a noble one—the world to be divided into four great mission provinces, and the bureau of propagandism to have four secretaries paid by the state. The course of political events cut short the scheme.

A large number of pastors—about seventy—English and Scottish, sent up a petition to Parliament in 1644, that encouragement be given to missionaries who should go out to America and the West Indies. To the high honor of Cromwell and the Long Parliament, an ordinance was passed (1649) creating the “Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England”—the first Protestant missionary body in Great Britain.

But the man who during the seventeenth century stands out most conspicuously in England

for effective efforts to promote foreign evangelization is Sir Robert Boyle¹—an ornament of his country and his age, a man who could afford to decline a peerage repeatedly offered him, one of the founders of the Royal Society, born the same year that Lord Bacon died (1626), eminent for his religious character and his beneficence. He amply rewarded Dr. Edward Pocock for rendering into Arabic the work of Grotius, *De Veritate Christianæ Religionis*, Robert Boyle.

which, as mentioned in a former lecture, was written with reference to aiding missionaries in the East. Sir Robert assumed the entire expense of printing that work, and then took pains to have it circulated in countries where the Arabic is spoken. One department of his labors in diffusing Sacred Scriptures was the publishing at his own expense of the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in Malay. The printing was executed (1677) in Roman character at Oxford under the superintendence of Dr. Hyde, whose name has just been mentioned. Boyle's last will and testament devoted five thousand four hundred pounds to the propagation of Christianity among unevangelized and unenlightened peoples—the largest Protestant bequest for such a purpose which, up to the date of his death, (1691) had ever been made. Not long after that event Dean Prideaux, a friend of Boyle and au-

¹ Not Peter Boyle, according to Braur, Beiträge. 1835. S. 57.

thor of a well-known work, *The Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testaments*, addressed (1695) written proposals to Dr. Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury, for the promulgation of Christianity in the East Indies. While no very marked known results may have followed from any of the forenamed plans and endeavors, they showed that our Saviour's last command was pressing more and more upon the attention of thoughtful Christian men.

In the New England colonies there was from the first a missionary element. Early emigration to our shores proceeded more largely than any other similar movement from religious considerations, and among those was the evangelizing of native tribes. Political and social reasons for the movement were, indeed, abundant. Papal exactions and persecutions had given place to others little less intolerable. Unity of creed and uniformity of worship were still stringently enforced. Even under Elizabeth worship according to rubric or imprisonment for life was the alternative. "I will have," said the despicable James I, at the Hampton Court Conference, where a calm consideration of most weighty and most reasonable measures might have been expected, "I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and ceremony. Never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey." Down

Secular
Elements.

went the coarse, insolent Bancroft upon his knees. "Your Majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's Spirit," said he; "I protest my heart melteth for joy that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us such a king as since Christ's time has not been." In his gushing sycophancy the bishop forgot Nero, of the first century, also Philip II, who had been in his grave only a quarter of a century. What man with a spark of manliness in him, to say nothing of conscience, would not prefer a wilderness and a neighborhood of savages to a country where royal proclamations had the force of law, where no right of independent opinion or utterance could be tolerated, where no privilege of separate worship was conceded, where the professed Church of Christ countenanced such a son of Belial as Archbishop Laud, and civil government sanctioned such a demon as Jeffreys? The island had no clergymen of greater worth than the hundreds who were driven from pulpit and living by the rigors of coercive conformity. For a Nonconformist to remain in England meant ruin to him. "Infamous" is the appropriate running title for many chapters in the history of Tudor and Stuart dynasties.

But He who permitted the first ten persecutions under Roman emperors, permitted ten decades of scathing intolerance under British rule; and far-reaching, beneficent results were in the

divine mind. But for a tyranny that made England intolerable to the choicest of her citizens, North America might have been a Spanish or a French domain, and might have been Catholic, as is South America. There now appears to have

Divine
Design.

been in the purpose of Heaven the planting of mighty evangelistic forces between the two great oceans. Already there have arisen in the United States more than fifty (52) foreign missionary societies, not including sundry independent movements, which now have in their own various fields over four thousand (4,159) American laborers and over sixteen thousand (16,632) native assistants. Their mission churches number over four thousand (4,113), and their communicants, four hundred and fifty-one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine. Their schools, six thousand eight hundred in number, embrace about two hundred and sixty-six thousand (266,026) pupils. Native contributions for evangelical work amount to an annual sum of about six hundred and twenty-eight thousand dollars (\$627,687), while the home receipts of those societies are nearly five million of dollars (\$4,839,703) per annum. These items collectively are about one-fifth of the totals in the

foreign missionary work of all Protestant Christendom at the present date.

After about twenty years from the landing on Plymouth Rock immigration from Old England to New England pretty much ceased for a time. During that score of years probably not more than a tenth as many men, women, and children arrived as the present number of communicants in our foreign mission churches just named.

We now turn to some details in the genesis and progress of this gratifying development. One noteworthy feature of many modern enterprises of discovery, colonization, and commerce has been an alleged purpose to communicate Christianity to heathen and Moham-
Colonial
Evangelism.
medan countries. Sheer adventure and sheer greed of gold have alike assumed this religious disguise. The plea has served to give an air of dignity to movements that were purely secular, and to secure for them an amount of patronage and popularity which would have been wanting but for this suborning of conscience. Portuguese explorers of the western coast of Africa and of the East Indies, in erecting crosses on newly discovered lands, not only thought to set up proof of the extension of their national domain, but at the same time beguiled themselves with the idea that they were thus extending the earthly dominion of the King of kings. Columbus, true indeed to one noble purpose, was yet a

man of hallucinations. While intensely eager to find gold and pearls, he cajoled himself with the dream of rescuing Jerusalem from infidels; and with the pretense of Christianizing savages he exported them into slavery. He and his associates and his successors put forth the same pretext while subjecting Lucayans and other inhabitants of the new world to an exterminating slavery in their own lands. On the part of early Dutch establishments in the Orient there was, indeed, less of self-imposition and more of honest religious purpose; yet the Netherlands East India and West India Companies were from the first supremely intent on the profits of commerce.

Far more deeply and consistently honest in their evangelistic professions were the great body of early immigrants to New England. It would indeed be a stretch of charity to suppose that the Jameses were particularly thoughtful about the conversion of Indians, and it would be the height of absurdity to attribute any such serious thought to the Charleses. But charters submitted for their signatures were prepared by men and for men, some of whom were swayed by religious motives. For example, the instrument which Charles I granted to the Massachusetts Colony in 1628, provided that the people from England "may be so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed as their good life and orderly conversation may win and incite the natives of the

country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind and the Christian faith, which in our royal intention and the adventurers' free profession is the principal end of the plantation." The company that was organized under this charter speak of the propagation of the gospel as "the thing they do profess above all to be their aim in settling this plantation." Higginson, who went to Salem, declared, "We go to practice the positive part of church reformation and propagate the gospel in America." So, too, the Pilgrims, while in Holland and when weighing the matter of emigration to America, avowed distinctly a desire not only to enlarge the dominions of the English state, but the Church of Christ also, if the Lord had a people among the natives whither he would bring them. The original seal of the Massachusetts Colony embodied the foreign missionary idea, as if that were distinctive in their enterprise. It represented an Indian uttering the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us."

Mention has been made of a corporation created by the Long Parliament (1649) for the propagation of the gospel in New England. It was at the same time directed that notice thereof be given from pulpits and that collections in aid of the object be taken up. The army made contributions. No other foreign missionary movement ever came so near being national in its

character. After the Restoration a new charter was granted, and Sir Robert Boyle continued for thirty years at the head of the corporation.

The foregoing notices, miscellaneous and not intimately connected with one another, yet serve to show that during the seventeenth century there

Pilgrim and
Puritan. were minds in the Church of Eng-
land, and an increasing number of

such, to which the evangelization of heathen tribes was not wholly foreign, and that among Dissenters it ripened into an acknowledged duty and a pronounced purpose. Among none of them, nor among other Protestants of the period elsewhere, was that more distinctly the case than on the part of early Pilgrim and Puritan colonists in New England.

Indians attracted the attention of colonists at once upon their arrival. Within the limits of the New England plantations there were about twenty tribes of aboriginal inhabitants, allied, however, in language, manners, and religion. It

The Indians. is estimated that they numbered fifty thousand, of whom not far from twelve thousand were in the neighborhood of the two colonies along the coast of Massachusetts — “the veriest ruins of mankind on the face of the earth,” “desolate outcasts,” “infinitely barbarous;” so, at least, the fathers pronounced them. They were devoid of delicacy in regard to food and many other things. Sentiment calls

the Indian "a child of nature," but surely he has an unwise mother. They were often at war with one another, were revengeful, exceedingly averse to labor — putting all drudgery upon the women, who were sometimes more cruel than the men. Gambling was their chief amusement, and in that they were desperate. They had no poetry, no songs, no instrument of music. Their language, abounding in consonants, was devoid of euphony, as many of the geographical terms now in use by us sufficiently show. It belongs to the agglutinative family, and has words of great length, fifteen syllables not being a peculiarity. Here is one with forty-three letters — *kummogkodonatoot-tummooetiteaongannunnonash* — and all it means is simply "our question." The structural features render it very difficult of acquisition by an Englishman.

In the line of Christian labor among Indians the man most widely known, the representative missionary of the seventeenth century, was John Eliot. He was born in the year 1604, at Widdford,¹ County of Hertford, about twenty-five miles north from London. At the University of Cambridge he distinguished himself in philology, taking his A.B. at Jesus College, 1622.² He served for a time as usher in the school of Rev. Thomas Hooker, so well known afterwards as one of the

¹ Note 7.

² Note 8.

chief fathers of New England and pastor of the first church in the city of Hartford. Having been thoroughly converted, without which great spiritual change no man should think of entering

the Christian ministry, Eliot made
in preparation to become a preacher.

England. But England was then no place for a minister of the gospel who could not in conscience conform to an unauthorized hierarchy, nor submit, more especially, to the outrageous proceedings of Archbishop Laud. Choice lay between being whipped, branded, pilloried, having the nostrils slit and the ears mutilated, or expatriation. In the year 1631, and at the age of twenty-seven, Eliot arrived in Boston. In the absence of Wilson, pastor of the church there, he officiated as preacher till his removal the next year (October, 1632) to Roxbury, where for nearly sixty years he was pastor of the First Church.

Biographical notices of Eliot as a missionary usually fail, either through misapprehension or careless omission, to bring duly to notice the fact

Eliot's
Pastorate. of his standing in this intimate relation to a people who had engaged his services before he left England

and, of course, before they followed him. He was never long absent from that people. During a considerable part of his fifty-nine years of official relation to them he had no colleague. He

served as both pastor and teacher. Personal labor among the Indians did not begin till fifteen years after his settlement at Roxbury. In his occasional absences from the pulpit neighboring ministers volunteered to supply his place. The Roxbury people paid his salary — sixty pounds sterling — and his missionary work was carried on not only with their knowledge, but, so far as appears, with their hearty approval. No evidence of dissatisfaction on their part has come down to us, and it was particularly creditable to them that they were ready to share with rude sons of the wilderness the time and strength of their own spiritual guide.

Eliot wisely set himself to the task of mastering the Indian language. It was done in the midst of parochial duties. But what a task it was! To what auxiliaries could he turn? No dictionary, grammar, analysis, vocabulary, or other help was at hand. He took into his

The
Language.

purpose not so much of teacher as of a mere mouthpiece; and through the slow process of noting word by word as it fell from the lips of that untutored man, observing the significations and relative positions, Eliot effected an entrance into the strange vernacular. Once within that new domain, he found that on the score of analogies or of treasure it was as unlike those tongues previously known to him as this

country, then so rude, was unlike the well-cultivated soil of Old England. From the Atlantic to the Pacific was an unbroken wilderness. To reach some of the Indian abodes visited by Eliot, though at short distances, required as much time as is now needed to reach the remotest parts of New England. In order to visit, for instance, the Nashaway Indians at Lancaster, Eliot was obliged to hire a native to break down the bushes before him and notch the trees that he might find his way to and fro.

And how far advanced in local cultivation was Roxbury itself at the time its pastor gathered the first church of converted Indians? The tract lying along what is now known as the beautiful street, Walnut Avenue, was called the Fox Holes, and a little farther on toward Grove Hall were the Bear Marsh and the Wolf Traps, and the town was still paying a bounty of ten shillings for every wolf's head. Earlier (1655) the bounty had been thirty shillings. Eliot, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his office, appreciating chartered declarations and the possibilities of his position, set himself to a systematic preparation for the work. He proceeded with much deliberation and not without due consultation. "It is hard," he observed, "to look on the day of small things with patience enough."

And what was it that moved him to his missionary service? What sustained him in the pro-

longed endeavor? Was it from a clarion call of the press or the platform? Were there great convocations to welcome and compliment him? Were his preaching excursions pleasant vacation jaunts? At the time he started on this undertaking there was not a Protestant missionary society on the face of the earth. From

no quarter were pledges of pecuniary aid tendered. Interest in the

His
Incentives.

spiritual welfare of wild aborigines was not all-pervading through the community. The town records of Roxbury during the first few years of its history make mention of sums paid for driving away Indians from the neighborhood. Eliot's conjecture—one which was entertained by Boudinot in his *Star in the West*, and by other writers before and since—that our Indian tribes are descended from the ten tribes of Israel, was a pleasing but not primary thought with him. Once more we inquire, What was the inspiring motive with Eliot? Let him speak for himself: "God first put into my heart a compassion for their poor souls and a desire to teach them to know Christ and to bring them into his kingdom."¹ This recognized father of American missions began work at his own charges. Afterwards (1647) a gratuity of ten pounds was voted him by the Massachusetts court, and later he received a salary from the society in England, first of twenty

¹ Note 9.

pounds, which was increased to forty pounds and then to fifty pounds. The encouraging sympathy shown him afterwards did not greet him at first. Even opposition to some extent was encountered.

IV

JOHN ELIOT

THE chapter preceding this one was given to incipient missionary endeavors of our English ancestors in the seventeenth century, and we began a study of John Eliot and his labors. We resume that study today. We contemplate him in his volunteer, extra-parochial undertaking. It is the year 1646 and the month of October. He has mastered the native language well enough to speak to the Indians intelligibly on divine things. His Methods.

He has already conversed with some of them in a way that interests them to have a visit at their wigwams. With three English companions he goes out to Nonantum, four or five miles from his house. He conducts a service or conference that lasts three hours, the sermon being an hour and a quarter in length—the first Protestant sermon ever preached in a North American language. Prayer he offers in English, not feeling as yet sufficiently at home in

the vernacular of the natives to employ that in public devotions. This, not unnaturally, suggests the thought, on the part of one Indian at least, that it was of no use to pray except in English, as the Being thus addressed would not understand the Indian tongue.¹ Another visit was called for and then another, and so on till the visits became habitual. The popular impression is that the climate of New England has become milder since the colonial period. However that may be, it is recorded that during the winter of 1646 there was no severe cold and that no snow fell in Boston and the vicinity, nor did any day appointed for visits to the Indians prove unfavorable.²

It was evident from the first, and increasingly evident as time advanced, that truth took effect upon the native mind; that there was a sense of guilt and a deepening felt need of pardon, and thus preparation to accept the disclosures of grace through Jesus Christ. Questions—some of them not easily answered—were asked by the Indians which showed that serious thought was aroused and that an effective leaven had begun to work. Interest on the part of these Indians and others elsewhere was not, indeed, universal. Some of the sagamores and conjurers vehemently opposed our evan-

¹ Note 10.

² Ellis' *History of Roxbury*, p. 76.

gelist. Philip, the Narraganset sachem, once treated Eliot with scorn, taking hold of his button and saying that he cared no more for the gospel than for that button. But at Nonantum a desire for social improvement manifested itself. Better clothing and some implements of industry were called for; children were presented for instruction; the Sabbath began to be recognized and observed; family worship was instituted. It appears that for a long time Eliot made fortnightly tours, preaching and catechising the children; then he would alternate, holding a service one week in the cabin of Waban, a headman at Nonantum, and the next week in the cabin of Cutshamakin, a sachem at Neponset, Dorchester. His visits were extended to natives within the limits of what is now Worcester County and Plymouth County, Massachusetts, and to the northeastern corner of Connecticut.

At length the Indians became desirous of better habitations, better organized social life, and something like a municipal government. Under Eliot's leadership they were provided with a place of settle-
ment at Natick, eighteen miles
from Boston—judiciously farther from English
neighbors than Nonantum. He drafted a con-
stitution for them, based upon the Mosaic civil
polity, and the community made progress in

Civilization
Developing.

self-government, as evinced by wholesome legislation and a good degree of executive fidelity. They began to till the ground; they built houses instead of wigwams; they put up one building fifty feet long by twenty-five in width, which was to be town property, designed for a school and a place of worship, while the upper room served for storage and a place for Eliot's bed. This settlement was on both sides of Charles River, over which they constructed a footbridge, eighty feet long and in the middle nine feet high. In starting such more complicated and extensive works, aid from an English carpenter was needed for a day or two; but the natives showed aptitude, and their operations were notable achievements for men recently so torpid and to whom labor had been so distasteful. These industries Eliot regarded as needful results and helpful accompaniments of the new religious life that was awakened. He did not see, as Carne remarks,¹ that they must be civilized ere they could be Christianized. The best kind of help to be encouraged everywhere on missionary ground is self-help.

Of Eliot's published writings not missionary in their character I say nothing, except that they were not of eminent value. His productions that relate to the Indians deserve special notice. These consist of a primer and

¹ *Lives of Eminent Missionaries*, I, p. 12.

a grammar auxiliary to acquiring the language. He also made contributions of Christian literature to the native language, such as a catechism, or rather catechisms, and the Psalms of David in meter, besides a translation of two works by Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, *The Sincere Convert* and *The Sound Believer*, Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, and *The Practice of Piety* (1686), written by Lewis Bayly,¹ a book which a century since (1792) had reached the seventy-first edition.

Literary
Labors.

But Eliot's great literary work was the translation of our sacred Scriptures—a truly missionary Bible—and a great work it was indeed, “which,” he well remarks, “I look at as a sacred and holy work, and to be regarded with much fear and reverence.” Viewed in the light of all the circumstances, it must be pronounced a unique, if not an unparalleled, achievement. Eliot entertained true Protestant ideas regarding the authority and value of God's Word and the right of every people under heaven to have this richest of treasures in their own mother tongue and in their own hands. He knew, as we know, that the history of gospel propagation and of revived Christian life is, in

Bible
Translation.

¹ Carne credits the work mistakenly to Baxter. *Lives*, I, p. 45.

a marked degree, the history of Bible translation and circulation. Where has there ever been a spiritual movement, healthful and decided, that did not stand connected with efforts to give currency to the Word of God? Withhold or withdraw that Word and true religion declines till it becomes extinct. The populous islands of Japan and extensive portions of South America were once nominally Christian, but the Holy Scriptures were not given to the people, and the light that seemed to be kindled went out. This inspired, this infallible, record of religious truth must be accessible, or no adequately aggressive power, no self-perpetuating vitality, will exist. Eliot appreciated the necessities of the case and set himself to the needful task. He was a man of prayer, and acted on his own maxim as thus laid down, "When we would accomplish any great things, the best policy is to work by an engine that the world knows nothing of."

Think of the comparative difficulties which surrounded him. Glance for a moment at similar undertakings before this. Go back to a period anterior to Christ's coming. His Embarrassments. Examine the Septuagint, executed by numerous collaborators at the request of Ptolemy and under his royal patronage; but it was the Old Testament alone and translated into the Greek, a language then

prevalent in the civilized world. Look at the twenty years' labor of Jerome, late in the fourth century of our era, with much-needed assistance, amidst his scholarly retirement at Bethlehem; yet he rendered Holy Scripture into the tongue then most widely diffused, and thus the Vulgate came into being. It was into his vernacular and with many auxiliaries that the venerable Bede, in the eighth century, translated a part of the Holy Scriptures. To Peter Waldo, Europe, at the close of the twelfth century, owed the earliest translation into a modern language of some portions of these sacred writings; but Waldo was a man of wealth, who could command his time and with little effort render the Latin into his mother tongue, the French. When Luther finished his version—that, too, into the language his fathers and his countrymen spoke—he had Melanchthon, one of the ripest scholars of the age, to assist in its revision. At his side was Cruciger with Hebrew and Chaldee in hand, Bugenhagen or Pomeranius with the Vulgate, and Justus Jonas lending the aid of his acquaintance with rabbinic lore. Each gave his opinion on the passages examined, and Master George Borer kept the record.

But here is John Eliot, amidst primeval forests and all the privations and solitudes of early colonial life, with parochial labors

quite sufficient, slightly cheered by social aid, mastering the language of a barbarous people that did not possess a vestige of literature, even to the amount of an uncouth song.¹ Into that vehicle, not of thought so much as of savage wants, he transfuses the wealth of God's Word. Almost no assistance was at hand. The entire translation, says Cotton Mather, was executed with a single pen. It appeared only thirty-five years after the version of King James in English, the one now so widely read. The New Testament was published in September, 1661, soon after the restoration of Charles the Second. The Old Testament followed in 1663. The corporation in England, which has been mentioned, sent from that country press and types and the needed materials for printing. Copies became at length very scarce, many having been burned or otherwise destroyed in the Indian wars. A second edition of the New Testament in 1680 and of the Old Testament in 1685 were printed at Cambridge. The work is at present extremely rare, and a perfect sample will command an extremely

¹ It differed so much from other Indian tongues that this translation could not be useful to tribes outside of Massachusetts. Hook, in his *Ecclesiastical Biography*, IV, p. 564, makes mistake as follows, Eliot "translated the Bible into the language of the Six Nations." Steel, in *Doing Good*, p. 86, remarks, Eliot "translated the Scriptures into the Choctaw language."

high price—a thousand dollars and upwards. No man now living can read the book.

Rare perseverance did Eliot exhibit. During the first thousand years of our era the Bible was translated into only ten different languages, the rate being one for every century; yet none of them, nor any one of the more than four hundred versions since made into different tongues, furnishes probably so much to ad-

A Peerless
Achievement.

mire in the faith and industry of one man triumphing over difficulties. At present there are between forty and fifty versions in the vernaculars of America. What two hundred years ago must have been—what must now be—the holy satisfaction of John Eliot in the remembrance of his devout studies and quickened graces while thus engaged, and knowing that he has been the instrument in God's providence of presenting to aboriginal inhabitants of New England the first Bible ever printed on our continent, the first translation of that volume in this hemisphere since holy men of God began to speak as they were moved by the Holy Ghost—indeed, the first instance in which the entire Bible was ever given to a barbarous people as a means of their conversion! Columbus made known to the old world the greatest of geographical discoveries; to the

new world Eliot gave the greatest of treasures possessed by the old. His preaching and translations were blessed. Conversions took place. Indubitable tokens of religious sensibility and of changed habits appeared, a signal triumph of truth and grace over stolid men of the woods. Expressions like the following were employed in their prayers: "Take away, Lord, my stony heart;" "Wash, Lord, my soul;" "Lord, lead me when I die to heaven." Eliot states that these were not learned by rote, for he had never used them in his prayers at their meetings. Cotton Mather, speaking of a visit paid

Conversions
Undoubted.

by him and others to one of the towns of "praying Indians," so-called, observes: "To see and hear Indians opening their mouths and lifting up their hands and eyes in prayer to the living God, calling on him by his name Jehovah in the mediation of Jesus Christ, and this for a good while together; to see and hear them exhorting one another from the Word of God; to see and hear them confessing the name of Christ Jesus and their own sinfulness—sure this is more than usual! And though they spoke in a language of which many of us understood but little, yet we that were present that day saw and heard them perform the duties mentioned with such grave and sober countenances, with such comely reverence in

their gesture and their whole carriage, and with such plenty of tears trickling down the cheeks of some of them, as did argue to us that they spake with the holy fear of God, and it much affected our hearts."¹

Eliot used great caution—a caution probably beyond what was called for—before organizing converts into a church. Six or eight years at least he had a class of catechumens who gave gratifying evidence of a change of heart, but it was not till 1660 that the first Indian church was constituted. Could there be a greater contrast than between such thorough proceedings and the superficial evangelization and hasty baptisms of the Dutch in their seventeenth century operations among natives of the great Asiatic archipelago?

In order to form some suitable estimate of the results of Eliot's missionary labor it will be helpful if we take our station for a moment at the date of 1670, a little more than midway in his apostleship, when he has been thus engaged for a quarter of a century. The colonial settlements have as yet made no very great advance. In all New England only about forty churches can be found. No town except Boston has more than one church. The first printing press is just being introduced into that place, and it will be fifty years before one sees a

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, Vol. I, p. 513.

market cart with vegetables driving into town. It is not easy to conceive how rudely primitive was the condition of this capital of New England, now embracing a population of about four hundred and fifty thousand. Writers, more especially European writers, seem to have no proper idea of the state of things at the beginning of that settlement. Miss Charlotte M. Yonge, for example, a well-known English author,

Results of
Labor.

in her sketch of Eliot, says, "They landed at Boston, then newly rising into a city over its harbor."

Boston was not incorporated as a city till nearly two centuries after that (1822). Wolves infested its neighborhood on the south.² The first meeting house in Roxbury was a mere thatched building; yet at the date which has been named (1670) there are one thousand and one hundred nominally Christian natives under the care of Eliot. In the church at Natick will be found between forty and fifty communicants. Within the limits of the two colonies, Massachusetts and Plymouth, six native churches have come into existence. There are seven old towns of "praying Indians," and more remotely in the Nipmuck country seven new "praying towns;" while the proportion of natives who can read and write equals that

¹ *Pioneers and Founders*, p. 4.

² Note 11.

of the Russian Empire today. Several Indians had joined the church in Roxbury. The Indian churches were all well furnished with religious officers except the one at Natick, where, as Eliot reports, "In modesty they stood off, because so long as I live they say there is no need."¹ No missionary to North American Indians was ever more successful than he. The venerable man lived to see twenty-four native preachers raised up, some of them through his own instrumentality. He had the sagacity to observe—what some modern missionaries seem slow to apprehend—"that God is wont ordinarily to convert nations and peoples by some of their own countrymen, who are nearest to them and can best speak and most of all pity their brethren and countrymen." How stands the case now, after the lapse of two hundred years? Our general government has come into relations with scores, indeed hundreds, of tribes, and missionary societies have sent numerous laborers among them. Yet at this moment, on all of their extensive reservations, are there more ordained native men than Eliot could name two hundred years ago in Massachusetts alone? One sentence of his I commend to you as a pocket-piece—as a stimulating sentiment for all days before you. It occurs at the

¹ Letter to Increase Mather, August 22, 1673.

close of his Indian grammar,¹ "Prayer and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do anything."

Eliot was not, as before remarked, cheered by universal approbation, nor did he seek pecuniary returns to himself. His stipend was much the same as that of the Apostle Paul—obloquy and hardships.² From his own countrymen he sometimes encountered suspicion, censure, and varied unkind-

**Personal
Trials.**

ness. Some blamed him for reducing the trade in peltries by encouragement given to settled life and to agriculture instead of the chase. There were those in Old England as well as New England who impeached his motives and pronounced his work a failure, just as is now done by men skeptical regarding evangelistic operations among the heathen. But he endured hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. Listen to one of his memorandums: "It pleased God to exercise us with such tedious rain and bad

¹ *The Indian Grammar Begun; or, An Essay to Bring the Indian Language into Rules.* Cambridge, 1666.

² A letter written by Eliot in 1673 answered inquiries, one of which ran thus: "What encouragement is there as to outward matters for any of the natives of England or Scotland to undertake the work of the ministry among them by devoting himself wholly or mainly thereunto?" *Answer*: "Nothing but poverty and hardships unsupportable in a constant way by our clothed and housed nations."

weather that we were extreme wet, insomuch that I was not dry from the third day of the week to the sixth, but so traveled, and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again."

Nor was he wholly exempt from danger among the Indians, especially when there were feuds between different tribes. In some instances the sachems and powwows, apprehensive lest their authority should be undermined by the new religion, would threaten him if he did not desist from his operations. But he replied: "I am about the work of the great God, and my God is with me, so that I neither fear you nor all the sachems in the country. I will go on. Do you touch me if you dare!" His record might well be: "In journeyings oft; in perils of water; in perils by the heathen; in perils in the wilderness;" but exempt from one form of perils that Paul met with—those of the city, for there was no city on the continent nearer than St. Augustine in Florida.

The severest trial, however, was the reverses and partial deterioration experienced at the native settlements and by other Indians for whom he had labored. In spite of prohibitory laws, ardent spirits were sold to them by the whites; and intemperance proved, as it has ever since and everywhere proved among the aborigines, exceedingly demoralizing and de-

structive. Eliot's chief disappointment resulted from the war with Philip, the powerful Narraganset sachem. The towns of "praying Indians" were, to a great extent, broken up, for they fell under the suspicion of English settlers. Such alarm and exasperation reigned among the exposed colonists that our apostle could only with much difficulty secure a hearing for the claims of humanity and Christian

brotherhood. The strong native
Hostilities. instincts and tribal sympathies of a few among those who had enjoyed the benefits of colonial philanthropy led them to join their savage countrymen in marauding expeditions.¹ Christian Indians, especially within the Massachusetts Colony, lost alike the confidence of their uncivilized fellows and of their white neighbors. Some of the settlements, however, remained without exception friendly and loyal to their benefactors throughout those contests.

It was not at all strange—though at this distance sad, indeed, to contemplate—that terror should overpower all better feelings on the part of English settlers and lead to unchristian retaliation. One company of Indians, semi-civ-

¹ Among those who refused to join the Pequots when they sought to enlist him against the English was John Thomas, who was one of the earliest of the "praying Indians" and who joined the church when it was first gathered by Eliot. He died at Natick, 1727, aged 110 years.

ilized at least, was conducted to an island in Boston Harbor, bound together somewhat as Mohammedan slave-drivers now treat their captives in Africa. Some, captured in war, were sold into West Indian slavery—a monstrous proceeding, yet it was only in accord with the sentiment and usage of the mother country. At that very period men were transported from England to Barbadoes, and women to Jamaica, and sold there as slaves to the colonists for a longer or shorter time.¹ Two hundred and fifty of the Covenanters captured at Bothwell Bridge were shipped as slaves to Barbadoes.²

Provocation was extreme. Indians once started upon the warpath, their ravages were widespread and merciless. No apology whatever can be offered for them. Lands occupied by the early settlers were bought and on terms satisfactory to aboriginal claimants. Legislation in their behalf had been eminently humane and wise. Wrongs, so far as committed by white neighbors, were the work of such unthinking or unprincipled men as are never wanting in any community, young or old. The wild Indians, distinguished from those reclaimed, did

¹ *Dictionary of Sects, etc.* By the Rev. John Henry Blunt, M.A., F.S.A. London, 1874. P. 465.

² *Scotland's Free Church.* By George Buchanan Riley and John M. McCandlish, F.R.S.E. London, 1893. P. 175.

not appreciate the kindness generally felt and the justice shown them, nor did they appreciate the benefits of civilized life. Race hatred and race fear dominated the reckless savages. There was no peace and no safety for the newcomers, especially in outlying districts. The farmer and the traveler were liable at any hour of the day to be shot by an enemy in ambush. Women and children at the door might be scalped or hurried into captivity. In the two older and principal colonies there were less than ninety towns; of these, at least ten were entirely destroyed and forty more were injured by fire. About two thirds of them had personal experience of the terrors incident to a frontier inadequately protected, and harassed by stealthy, unscrupulous enemies who were bent on exterminating all white settlements. Men of military age were literally decimated by murder or in battle, or as prisoners undergoing tortures the very thought of which, even at this distance of time, makes us shudder. Only a few English families in the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies were not in mourning.¹ Whatever may be true of later treatment of Indian tribes within our national limits, and whatever the responsibility of white encroachment for Indian hostilities,

¹ Palfrey's *History of New England*, III, p. 215.

neither equity nor sentiment can reasonably apologize for these earlier onsets of hostile natives. Our fathers aimed at self-preservation; they had a right to do all that self-preservation required, and as war goes they were justified in their proceedings. The after distribution of captives into slavery is, indeed, to be most emphatically reprehended. Against that proceeding our apostle issued a public protest.¹ He declares, "Christ has said, 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.'" In the course of the same extended petition occurs the following: "When we came we declared to the world, and it is recorded—yea we are instructed by our letters patent from the king's majesty—that the endeavor of the Indians' conversion, not their extirpation, was one great end of our enterprise in coming to these ends of the earth." John Robinson's oft-quoted exclamation, "O, that you had converted some before you had killed any!" was uncalled for. Dr. Warneck, candid and usually accurate, writes, "Although these emigrants expressly proposed to themselves the extension of the kingdom of God among the heathen, yet Indian wars preceded by a long time In-

¹ "To the Honorable the Governor and Council, sitting at Boston the 13th of the sixth, 1675, the humble petition of John Eliot sheweth."

dian missions.”¹ Just the reverse of that is true. He was misled by Fritschel,² who at times is neither candid nor accurate.

From the disasters of that period the settlements of Christian Indians never recovered. Removal and decay went on till now for a long time neither cabin nor wigwam has been seen anywhere on the field of Eliot’s chief missionary toil. Visiting the village of South

Natick, you will find one humble
Decadence. gravestone bearing the name of Tackawompbait,³ a teacher, at whose ordination our Eliot assisted and whose interment took place in 1716. The rude block has been built into a wall that runs across his grave by the public roadside. Its position and treatment are an emblem of the race, prostrate or vanished.

But “what then,” inquires Dr. Geekie,⁴ “what then remains of all this marvelous toil and industry?” We answer, what Augustine was to the Angles of Britain, John Eliot, a man far superior to him, became to Indians in New England. Rightly viewed he was one

¹ *Outline of the History of Protestant Missions.* Smith’s translation. P. 35.

² *Geschichte der christlichen Missionen unter den Indianern Nordamerikas.*

³ Note 12.

⁴ *Christian Missions to Wrong Places, among Wrong Races, in Wrong Hands.* By A. C. Geekie, D.D. London, 1871. P. 5.

of the few men of an age or of a country. Though acceptable as a preacher and pastor among his countrymen, he chose to forego, in large measure, the gratifications of popularity, to surrender the comparative comforts of exclusive home work, and for more than twoscore years to spend many a day—yes, and occasionally a night too¹—in toilsome efforts to win those men of the forest to Christ and to civilization. Not a whit was this apostle to the Indians behind the chiefest of modern apostles. From Roxbury round about unto Illyricum he fully preached the gospel, and scores of dark-minded warriors be-

Résumé.

came divinely enlightened. In the habitation of dragons where each lay there came to be grass, with reeds and rushes. The wilderness and solitary place were glad for him; the desert rejoiced and blossomed as the rose.

Cheerfulness, temperance, early rising, and hard work—for each of which Eliot was noted—favor longevity. At the age of eighty-six years, on the 20th of May, 1690, Eliot entered into rest, the last words which he uttered being, "Welcome joy!"² Twenty years before that Baxter wrote him: "There is no man on earth whose work I think more honorable and comfortable than yours. The industry of the

¹ Note 13.

² Note 14.

Jesuits and friars and their successes in Congo, Japan, China, etc., shame us all save you." After Eliot's decease Baxter, on his own death-bed, writes: "There was no man on earth whom I honored above him. I am now dying—I hope as he did." The celebrated John Owen expressed much interest in the labors and character of Eliot.

"All this vast labor," remarks Dr. Geekie once more, "has proved a work for one day, not for all time." Is it only of transient moment that hundreds of human beings, ignorant, debased, yet bearing the stamp of immortality, have the good news of salvation brought to them, receive the truth in faith and love, and become heirs to an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, all glorious,

and endless? And, further, was
Results the influence of Eliot and his
Perpetuated. coadjutors circumscribed geographically and to that age? A reflux wave of missionary interest reached the mother country. His own writings and the writings of others made known there the nature and prospects of his work. English and Scottish societies for propagating the gospel in foreign parts sprang up, partly at least, as a result. By blessed contagion that interest spread, and in some measure was perpetuated. Good men in Holland, too, were moved by the good

news. Increase Mather, writing (1687) to Leusden, professor of Hebrew in the University of Utrecht, states that Eliot, though eighty-three years old, still preached to the Indians as often as once in two months. The noteworthy rise of foreign missionary zeal within the last hundred years is an outgrowth, in no small measure, of what was done for the pagan people of Massachusetts by Eliot and his co-laborers and immediate successors. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which has sent out more than two thousand missionaries, is a century plant, whose seed was dropped by the apostle to the Indians among the hills of Natick. One reason why God so blessed our fathers was that they, the hostages of Providence, were true to Christ's commission and were teachers and leaders of a militant host in modern Protestant missions. The church that is not missionary in its spirit must repent or wane; the pastor who is not should reform or resign.

V

AMONG INDIANS

THE last chapter was on John Eliot, the most eminent missionary of the seventeenth century. No further sketch of evangelistic labor in behalf of aborigines during the seventeenth century can be expected to have equal interest. It would not, however, be just to his contemporaries and successors, nor just to that period nor to the century following, if we pass by certain other of the earlier endeavors to Christianize Indian tribes. But it might seem wearisome to listen to details in this department which are not intrinsically of high importance, and the interest in which is due largely to local associations. I propose, therefore, at this time not so much a lecture as a glance at some of the salient facts, indeed simply notes, which can easily be expanded at your option. Following a geographical order we will only outline the subject.

No family in colonial times or subsequently in the United States has such a noteworthy record in the line of missionary labor as that of the Mayhews on Martha's Vineyard. That island, called by the natives *Nope*, twenty miles in length and three to nine miles in width, together with neighboring islands—Nantucket and the sixteen Elizabeth Islands—was secured from the agent of Lord Sterling by Thomas Mayhew, who had been a merchant in Southampton, England, and who came to New England before 1636. This grant was made in 1641. Those islands were under the jurisdiction of New York till 1692, when they were annexed to Massachusetts.

Southeastern
Massachusetts.

In 1642 Mayhew began a settlement at Edgartown, towards eighty miles southeast from Boston, and he became governor of the domain which had been ceded to him. He strongly attached the Indians to himself. After the death of his son Thomas—it being impossible to obtain a stated minister for the Indians—he began himself, having acquired their language, to preach to them and to the English, his age being three-score and ten. It was a noteworthy sight to see a governor, and especially at such an age, walking sometimes nearly twenty miles through the woods to preach.

He induced the Gay Head Indians at the farther end of Martha's Vineyard to receive the gospel. Gay Head is a remarkable promontory rising over a hundred and seventy feet above the sea at the southwest extremity of the island. In 1675, during King Philip's War, the Indians in that region, being twenty times more numerous than the English, would, in all probability, have exterminated their neighbors but for the influence of Governor Mayhew and of the gospel which they had been taught. Early New England history furnishes no other instance of such prolonged happy relations between colonists and aborigines.

In 1670, though fully fourscore years of age, he was asked to become pastor of the first native church, but declined the invitation. He lived to be ninety-two, laboring to the very last, and dying in 1681.

Thomas Mayhew, the only son of Governor Thomas, was the first minister on Martha's Vineyard. Accompanying his father, in 1642,

he began labor there by preaching to the few English who established a settlement; but he became interested in the surrounding natives, studied their language, and won their confidence. He might be seen in their smoky wigwams devoting a part of the night to rehearsing Scripture truths to them. Such was the attachment of the na-

tives to him that the mention of his name would for years afterwards call forth tears. When he left them to embark for England the place on the wayside where he took leave was for that generation remembered with sorrow. According to Indian usage a pile of stones marked the spot, which is still pointed out. Thus the scene at Miletus was reenacted there.

In 1643 Hiacoomes was recognized as the first convert. Mr. Mayhew began his public and volunteer work among the Indians three years later (1646), the same year that Eliot started out on his first formal preaching tour. He took up residence at Edgartown as pastor of the English settlement there, and also began efforts in behalf of neighboring Indians. Four years had hardly gone by when (1650) one hundred of those red men entered into a covenant that they would obey God, imploring mercy through Christ Jesus. In the course of his twelve years of earnest labor "many hundred men and women were added to the church," says Cotton Mather. Chiefly with a view to secure aid for them he sailed for England (November, 1657); but the vessel and all on board were lost at sea. With him perished one of his native preachers, who had graduated from Harvard College. Thomas Mayhew, a man of much promise — a man

who, indeed, had largely fulfilled his promise—was removed at the age of thirty-six.¹ As before intimated the aged father took up the work of the son after his removal, and continued the same during the remainder of a life unusually prolonged.

John Mayhew, a son of Thomas junior, was born 1652, and at the age of twenty-one became minister to the English colonists at Tisbury, which adjoins Edgartown on Martha's Vineyard. About the same time he began to preach to the Indians. He taught alternately in their assemblies every week, receiving only five pounds per annum, till two years before his death, which occurred 1689, at the same age with his father, who at thirty-six slept beneath the sea.

Experience Mayhew, son of John and great-grandson of the first governor, was born January 27, 1673. He spoke Indian from early childhood, and began at the same age as his father, twenty-one, to preach to the red men, and had the oversight of half a dozen assemblies. He was employed by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England, and prepared a new version of the Psalms as well

¹The Rev. Thomas Mayhew married his stepsister, the daughter of Mrs. Paine, a widow lady who became the second wife of the governor.

as of the Gospel of John (1709). In 1727 appeared his valuable book, entitled *Indian Converts*. Other writings were also published. His death took place November 29, 1758, at the age of eighty-five.¹

Zechariah Mayhew, son of Experience, received ordination at Martha's Vineyard December 10, 1767. In the employ of the fore-named society he devoted his life to the Indians, and died March 6, 1806, aged eighty-nine.²

Thus for five generations members of this family labored in behalf of the Indians (from 1646 to 1806), a period of one hundred and sixty years. The only parallel instance in missionary annals is that of the Moravian, Frederick Bönisch—who married Anna Stach, 1740—and his descendants, who also during five generations continued in the good work for one hundred and forty years. The last one in that line died a few years since. One other Moravian family, by the name of Bach, performed missionary service in Greenland during one hundred and ten consecutive years.

Others of the Mayhew family, besides the five who have been named, manifested an interest in the religious welfare of the aborig-

¹ Note 15.

² Regarding his age authorities differ.

ines. One of them was Matthew, a son of Thomas junior, who, in 1681, succeeded his grandfather as governor and who also preached to the Indians.

Longevity among the Mayhews will be noticed. Thomas, who heads the list, governor and patentee, attained to ninety-two; Experience, his great-grandson, to eighty-five; and Zechariah, a son of Experience, to eighty-nine. The sixty-four years of Experience Mayhew's missionary service exceeds even the Moravian Zeisberger's term, which was sixty-two years, and exceeds that of any other American engaged in similar work.¹

Evangelistic success among the Indians of Martha's Vineyard was, on the whole, not less than anywhere else in the country. Whatever the cause, insular missions have generally been more successful than those upon the continents. This was begun a little earlier (1644 or 1645) than Eliot's work at Nonantum (1646), and after five or six years nearly two hundred men, women, and children professed the Christian religion² and attended upon the religious instruction of Thomas Mayhew.

¹ The statement regarding Zeisberger, on page 305 of *Moravian Missions*, needs correction.

² Note 16.

A dozen years later (1662) there were two hundred and eighty-two, including eight powwows, who had embraced Christianity. At the death of John Mayhew (1689) there was a church of one hundred members, containing several well-instructed

Results.

native teachers. In process of time the entire island became Christian, nominally at least, and adopted the usages of civilized life in the matter of husbandry and other concerns. The first of their churches was constituted in 1670 (August 22), John Eliot being present to assist. Thence onward order and discipline were fairly well maintained.¹ The original population continued to diminish.² In 1720 there were but eight hundred souls, distributed in six small villages, each of which was supplied with an Indian preacher.³

The name of the first convert, Hiacoomes, has been mentioned. After receiving instruction from Mr. Mayhew he began to instruct his neighbors, somewhat privately and quietly, till at length Tawanquatuck, a prominent sachem, invited Mr. Mayhew and Hiacoomes to

¹ Note 17.

² Cotton Mather estimates the number of adults on Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket at about three thousand, which, like most of the early estimates of the original population of the country, was probably in excess of facts.

³ Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. I, 206.

preach to him and as many others as would attend. From that time this earliest of such converts in New England was recognized as a public religious teacher. He became the first native pastor of a church, and was for a time an object of hatred to the powwows, who threatened his life; but he exhibited a true courage, resulting from faith in God. A haughty sagamore, Pahkehpunuasso by name, reviled him for conforming to the English in things civil and religious. Hiacoomes replied that this was not to the disadvantage of the Indians, whereupon the sagamore dealt him a heavy blow in the face. The Christian man meekly replied, "I have one hand for injuries and another hand for God; while I receive wrong with the one I lay the faster hold on God with the other." Hiacoomes lived to a great age. The life of Tawanquatuck was also threatened on account of his renouncing heathenism.

The Mayhews, especially in the earlier period of their missionary work, appear to have been not less cautious than John Eliot in their estimates of Christian character. A long time elapsed before a separate Indian church was organized. Not only did Hiacoomes, the first pastor, maintain a consistent Christian and official walk, but other preachers also. Experience Mayhew in his work entitled *Indian*

Converts, a handsome volume of three hundred pages, printed in London, 1727, enumerates twenty-two "godly Indian ministers," whom he portrays. Then follow sketches of "twenty other good Indian men," "thirty religious Indian women," and "twenty-two pious Indian young persons." These ninety-four narratives are followed by supplementary briefer notices of seventeen other Indian men and nine other Indian women. The sixscore converts thus singled out for particular mention are only such as seemed to be specially worthy of a published narrative. Mayhew was scrupulously accurate, and his reliability is attested by eleven ministers of Boston.¹

Other ministers of the gospel took part in this work among the red men. The Rev. John Cotton, known chiefly as a preacher at Plymouth, labored at one time for about two years on behalf of the English at Martha's Vineyard, and, being Colaborers and Successors. acquainted with the language of the Indians, gave attention to them. That was during the life of the first Governor Mayhew (1665-1667). Rev. Josiah Torrey, pastor of the English Church at Tisbury, a contemporary of Experience Mayhew, coöperated with him. Having mastered their lan-

¹ Note 18.

guage, he preached or lectured to the Indians for many years.

The Rev. Samuel Wiswall, pastor of the church in Edgartown, studied the language of the Indians with a view to making himself useful among them.

The evangelistic efforts of English preachers and their converts were not confined to Martha's Vineyard. Cotton Mather testifies: "As in the apostolic times the church sent forth from among themselves for the conversion of the nations, so these Indians on Martha's Vineyard did, not only to the island of Nantucket, being about one thousand five hundred adult persons, but likewise to the mainland."¹

On Nantucket in 1694 there were three churches, one of them Baptist, and not a powwow remained.

At the present time the Gay Head tribe on Martha's Vineyard, which numbers something over one hundred and fifty, can hardly be called Indians, as there is not one of unmixed blood among them. They are incorporated as a town, and manage their own affairs as do people elsewhere. They have one school and a small Baptist church.

Leaving Martha's Vineyard we cross Vine-

¹ *Magnalia*, B. VI, Sec. 2.

yard Sound, five miles in width, to Cape Cod and enter Barnstable County, the most eastern county in Massachusetts. Here we come to an Indian settlement, about sixty miles southeast from Boston, called Marshpee.¹ Rev. Joseph Bourne was ordained here in 1729, but resigned in 1748. His predecessor was Simon Patmonet and his successor Solomon Bryant.

In 1693 Marshpee Indians, to the number of two hundred and fourteen, were under the care of Rev. Rowland Cotton, the first minister of Sandwich. The Rev. Gideon Hawley, who had labored among the Indians in New York and at Stockbridge, was installed as pastor at Marshpee, 1758, Barnstable
County. and remained there for more than

half a century, dying in 1807 at eighty years of age. In 1762 there were about seventy-five Indian families, which, however, did not average four to a family. Till 1870 Marshpee continued a reservation, but in that year was incorporated as a town, and now has about three hundred inhabitants, none of whom are pure-blooded Indians. They have a public library and a Baptist church, which is supported partly from the Williams fund, which, in 1711, was left to Harvard College "for the blessed work of converting the Indians."

¹ Marshapee or Mashpee. The original Indian name was Mashippaug.

Eastham, an easterly town in Barnstable County, was one seat of the Indians, to whom Rev. Samuel Treat preached in their language for many years. Under him were four Indian teachers, one each for their several villages. In 1693 he wrote President Increase Mather that there were five hundred and five adult Indians in that place. They lived in four separate villages, for which he procured schoolmasters. Mr. Treat was ordained as the first minister of Eastham, 1672, and soon after began to study the vernacular of neighboring natives, to whom he devoted much time and among whom there were not a few converts.¹

We now return westward along the cape to Sandwich, which, in 1637, was purchased by Thomas Tupper, a man of property, together with Richard Bourne. Tupper went there from Lynn; he was not educated for the ministry, yet he preached to the Indians and gathered a church consisting of them. In 1693 he regarded one hundred and eighty Indians as true Christians.

The name of another layman in that neighborhood should be mentioned—Josiah Cotton, a brother of Rowland Cotton just mentioned. He was a judge, but preached more or less

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, B. VI, Sec. 3.

to the Indians at Manomet—now known as Monument, a part of Sandwich—and at other settlements under an engagement which continued for nearly forty years. He was a graduate of Harvard College, 1698, and studied divinity, but was never ordained. He composed a copious Indian and English vocabulary.

We will follow the coast up to Plymouth, the oldest town in New England and thirty-seven miles southeast from Boston. This was the chief place of ministerial labor performed by John Cotton, son of the well-known John Cotton, of Boston. Plymouth.

His ordination took place here in 1669, and for about thirty years he preached also to congregations of Indians in the neighborhood, of whom about five hundred were under his care. He was a master of their language; and a revision of Eliot's Bible fell to him. His two sons, Josiah and Rowland, have already been mentioned.

Returning now to Massachusetts Bay Colony, we find among the contemporaries of John Eliot some who studied the language of the natives, and yet more who interested themselves in their welfare. It is not necessary to mention again the name of Major General Gookin, who was superintendent and

Massachusetts
Colony.

firm friend of the Indians; who coöperated efficiently with Eliot; the only magistrate who befriended the Christian Indians in the time of King Philip's War, for which he was abused and insulted. He died a poor man, March 19, 1687. One of his two sons who became ministers, Daniel, was a pastor at Sherborn, having at the same time some care of the Indians at Natick.

Peter Thatcher, son of Rev. Thomas Thatcher, first minister of the Old South Church, Boston (ordained 1681), conducted a monthly lecture to the Indians.

Rev. Grindall Rawson, a son of Secretary Edward Rawson, was ordained pastor of the church in Mendon about 1680, and preached to the Indians of that place in their own language Sunday evenings, though under great discouragements and not with great success.

Samuel Danforth, minister at Taunton (1687-1727) — the son of Samuel Danforth, a colleague of Eliot (1650-1674) — translated five sermons of Dr. Increase Mather into Indian, which were printed in 1698. He labored for the welfare of the Indians in his neighborhood, preaching to them in their vernacular on certain "lecture days." A manuscript Indian dictionary of his, which has never been printed, is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

We next move westward, and to the period of more than a century and a half now gone by. John Sergeant,¹ who was four years a tutor in Yale College, after graduating there, 1729, visited Housatonic, an Indian village in Western Massachusetts, and preached to those living there. He had long been in the habit of praying God daily that he would send him to the heathen that he might turn them from darkness to light. When he first went to the place just named (1734) the natives, called "River Indians," numbered less than fifty.

Berkshire
County.

Most of the same tribe lived within the limits of New York among the Dutch, who had made no attempt to civilize or Christianize them. There were a few in the northwest corner of Connecticut. This was at that time the largest tribe neighboring to any English settlements in New England. The village first visited by Sergeant was in the town of Sheffield, and there was another village eighteen miles farther up the Housatonic River within the bounds of Stockbridge. Nothing less than a deep conviction of Christian duty could have reconciled him to exchange academic society and occupation for hardships

¹ Samuel Hopkins: *Historical Memoirs Relating to the Housatonic Indians*. Boston, N.E. 1753.

otherwise unwelcome. Two sons of prominent Indians accompanied Sergeant to New Haven, who instructed them there till his college engagement was closed.

One great obstacle to his success among the Indians was the neighboring traders, chiefly Dutch, who found that their nefarious gains from the sale of rum were endangered, and who represented that the new religion was not a good one, and that it was the design of the English to enslave them. But Sergeant set himself resolutely to work and to prayer. The next year (1735) he received ordination, his excellency the governor of the colony and the commissioners of the missionary corporation being present.

His instruction of the children, as well as more formal ministrations, were at first through an interpreter; but he saw that a knowledge of the vernacular was indispensable, and so set himself earnestly to acquire it. After about three years he began to preach in that difficult tongue, and after two years more (1739) he had so far mastered it that the Indians were accustomed to say, "Our minister speaks our language better than we ourselves can do."¹ He translated prayers, portions of Scripture, and Dr. Watts' *Catechism for Children*. Dr. Watts sent the contribution of a few friends,

¹ Note 19.

amounting to seventy pounds, to aid the mission.

In the course of his second year of labor (1736) a township of six miles square, within the limits of Stockbridge, was granted to the Indians by the General Provincial Court, and they began to remove there as a place of common settlement. Previously they had moved about in small groups according as the seasons for fishing or the chase invited. A few white families settled at Stockbridge, partly for benefit to the natives, and Sergeant also established himself there. Mr. Timothy Woodbridge became his assistant and taught a school. Mr. Isaac Hollis, of London, nephew of Thomas Hollis, the benefactor of Harvard College, offered, through Dr. Coleman, of Boston, to support twelve scholars under the care of Sergeant from year to year.¹ On this Hollis foundation he received boys to his own house. Through the same channel Samuel Holden, Esq., of London, made a remittance of one hundred pounds for the benefit of the mission. So favorable were the representations of the work made in England that his royal highness the Prince of Wales headed a subscription (1745) in aid of

¹ The Rev. Isaac Hollis made remittance in behalf of Indian boys: 1732, £100; 1736, £56; 1738, £343; 1740, £447 9s. After this later date £50 annually, and subsequently £120 each year.

the boarding school by giving twenty guineas; the Duke of Cumberland followed with the same amount; the Duke of Dorset, Lord Gower, and the Lord Chancellor giving each five guineas. Contributions towards the good work were made in Connecticut, especially at Lebanon; and a gentleman in Hartford, Mr. Ellery, bequeathed a hundred and twenty pounds. The General Court of Massachusetts favored the mission, providing a place of worship and a schoolhouse (1738), and also incurring expense for the removal of inhabitants to the town which had been given, as before mentioned. Later, having a mixed congregation of Indians and English, Mr. Sergeant preached in both languages, two sermons in each, on the Lord's Day.

During the period of his labor at Stockbridge he visited Indians elsewhere in Massachusetts and in Connecticut, besides a tour among those on the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers, distant more than two hundred miles from Stockbridge. Sergeant died July 27, 1749, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. A daughter of his was the grandmother of the late President Mark Hopkins.

When Sergeant began his work there were in the place of his first visit less than fifty Indians; at the time of his death there were at Stockbridge over fifty-three families, numbering two hundred and eighteen souls, of whom one

hundred and twenty-nine were baptized; while of these, forty-two were communicants. The whole number baptized by him was one hundred and eighty-two. The attendance in Mr. Woodbridge's school averaged about forty.

From intemperance, a prevailing and ruinous practice of the Indians, they were, for the most part, recovered. Their bark wigwams gave place to houses well built after the manner of white neighbors, of whom there were a dozen families at the time of Sergeant's decease. Dissensions among the English residents and other causes—the French war of 1744 and onward one of them—interfered with the success of Sergeant as minister and of Mr. Woodbridge as teacher.

After the death of Mr. Sergeant about ninety Mohawk Indians came from the neighborhood of Albany to live at Stockbridge, especially in the winter of 1750–51. Meanwhile the Rev. Jonathan Edwards,¹ having been dismissed from the church in Northampton (June, 1750), received proposals from the
Jonathan
Edwards.
commissioners, residing in Boston, of the Society in London for Propagating the Gospel in New England and the Parts Adjacent to become a missionary at Stockbridge. He was also invited by the church and congregation in that place to become their minister. This was early in the winter of 1751. Soon

¹ Dwight's *Life of Edwards*, Chapters XXV–XXVIII.

after receiving these overtures, but before deciding upon them, he went to Stockbridge and remained there till early spring, preaching to the English inhabitants and, through an interpreter, to the Indians. He accepted the two offers, and his formal installation took place the eighth of August that year. Edwards preached twice weekly to the whites, and once a week each to the Housatonics and the Mohawks. Thus, like Eliot, the Mayhews, Cotton, and other Massachusetts ministers who labored in behalf of the Indians, he had at the same time an English congregation in charge. During his six years' residence at Stockbridge Edwards wrote several elaborate theological treatises—*The Freedom of the Will*, *God's Last End in Creation*, *The Nature of Virtue*, and *Original Sin*.

The circumstances and the period of his missionary work were peculiarly unfavorable. Vehement dissensions existed among the white residents at Stockbridge. The disbursement of funds furnished by the colonial legislature, by the commissioners at Boston, and by individuals in England became a temptation, especially to one family, which arrayed itself persistently against Edwards. Owing to attendant unfaithfulness and mismanagement, which he found it impossible to correct—which were much like what continues now to be witnessed on Indian

reservations—most of the Mohawks and some of the other Indians left the place in natural disgust. Hardly three years had passed before French and Indian hostilities began, and Stockbridge, being a frontier settlement, was much exposed. Several persons were killed there as early as 1754, and great alarm prevailed. Evangelistic endeavors always suffer in war time. In 1757 Edwards was called—a son-in-law, President Burr, having died—to take his place as president of New Jersey College at Princeton.

No one in this class need be told that President Jonathan Edwards had a son, Dr. Jonathan Edwards, who also became president of a college—Union College, Schenectady, New York. This son, removing when six years of age with his father to Stockbridge, learned the Mohegan language at that place. The elder Edwards designed that this son should be a missionary among the aborigines, and hence sent him at ten years of age (1755), with the Rev. Gideon Hawley, to learn the language of the Oneidas near the head waters of the Susquehanna. He became president of the college above named (1799), and but two years later died at the age of fifty-six. Like his father, he was a tutor in the institution whence he had graduated; he had two pastorates; his term in the college presidency was brief—only two years; and his age was only two years greater than that of his

father—fifty-six instead of fifty-four. Owing to these coincidences it is not strange that the two men should sometimes be mistaken for one another by ill-informed persons, especially in Europe.

Rev. Stephen West, D.D., was ordained at Stockbridge in 1759, and among the many admitted to the church during his ministry were twenty-two Indians. In 1775 he gave up the care of the Indians, and received his support as pastor wholly from the whites.

Other
Laborers.

John Sergeant, Jr., son of the first missionary at Stockbridge, acquired the Mohegan¹ language in boyhood, and having studied divinity with Dr. West took charge of the Indians as their missionary. He labored there, preaching to them and teaching in an Indian school, for ten years; but in 1785 this relict of aboriginalism was removed to land given them by the Oneidas in the State of New York—a tract the same in size (six miles square) as the Massachusetts court gave to the Indians at Stockbridge. The village built there bore the name of New Stockbridge. The well-known Mohegan preacher, Samson Occom, visited the place and a division occurred, one Indian church choosing him for pastor and the rest remaining with Mr. Sergeant. When Mr. Occom died (1792) a reunion of the churches

¹ Moheakunnuk (Mu-he-con-nuk).

was effected. In the years 1818 and 1822, respectively, these New Stockbridge Indians, separating into two bodies, removed to Indiana and Wisconsin. Mr. Sergeant, unable to accompany either band, died (1824) at the age of seventy-seven.

It is worthy of note that the English colonists within the limits of the present Commonwealth of Massachusetts entered upon the work of evangelizing aborigines more generally and continued therein more systematically and with greater perseverance than was done in any other New England State. In Vermont and New Hampshire there were comparatively few Indians. Those in Maine came chiefly under Roman Catholic influence. Of four prominent laymen who engaged in the religious instruction of these heathen neighbors the names have been mentioned. "Some of the Indians," says Cotton Mather, "quickly built for themselves good and large meeting houses after the English mode, in which, also after the English mode, they attended the things of the kingdom of heaven. And some of the English were helpful to them on this account, among whom I ought particularly to mention that learned, pious, and charitable gentleman, the worshipful Samuel Sewall, Esq., who at his own charge built a meeting house for one of the Indian congrega-

General Con-
siderations.

tions and gave those Indians cause to pray for him under that character—'he loveth our nation, for he hath built us a synagogue.'"¹

All circumstances considered—relative population and valuation, more especially the early condition of exiles making a home for themselves in an unreclaimed wilderness—the missionary spirit of our fathers not merely equaled but surpassed that of the present generation.

We pass to Rhode Island. Roger Williams, so well known in the early history of Massachusetts, was born in Wales (1599) five years earlier than John Eliot. He was converted at ten years of age, was graduated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and came to this country the same year that the apostle to the Indians arrived (1631). He became the father of Rhode Island, or rather of the Providence Plantation (1636), the same year that Hooker and his associates reached Hartford, Connecticut. In 1654 he was chosen president of the colony in Rhode Island.

While pastor previously at Plymouth he gained acquaintance with the sachems of the Wampanoags and Narragansets and learned their language. He continued a warm friend of the Indians and acquired great influence among them. In 1645 he was largely instrumental in securing a treaty which, to all

¹ *Magnalia*, B. III (h).

appearance, prevented a war upon the New England colonies.

Roger Williams was the first to publish a vocabulary of the Indian language. It was prepared during a voyage to England and entitled *A Key to the Language of America* (London, 1643), and consisted of thirty-two chapters, each containing a short list of words, dialogues in Indian and English, also a poem. With reference to acquiring this vernacular he states: "God was pleased to give me a painful, patient spirit to lodge with them in their filthy, smoky holes, even while I lived at Plymouth and Salem, to gain their tongue." In the *Key* he states that many hundreds of times "he had preached to great numbers, to their great delight and great convictions," "with all sorts of nations of them, from one end of the country to the other." Certain limitations to this are obvious.

That Roger Williams was a man of intrepidity and that he was a power for good among the Indians admits of no doubt. Positive evidence of any marked Christian results are wanting. He established no schools and gathered no churches. Regarding organization and ordinances, his views would seem to have resembled those of the present English Plymouth Brethren. There is a tinge of boasting as well as of unscriptural sentiment in what he

says regarding the natives:¹ "I could readily have brought the whole country to have observed one day in seven; to have received a baptism or washing, though it were in rivers, as the first Christians and the Lord Jesus himself did; to have come to a stated church meeting, maintained priests and forms of prayer, and a whole form of antichristian worship."²

Westerly, the southwestern town of Rhode Island,³ was within the territory occupied by the Niantics. To those Indians the Society for Propagating the Gospel sent, in 1733, the Rev. Joseph Park "as a missionary to the Indians

and such English as would attend Westerly." in Westerly." He does not appear to have been a converted man till some years later, when the awakening of 1740 began. His testimony regarding the spiritual state of that region is noteworthy: "Before this day of God's power there was not, as far as ever I learned, one house of prayer in the place, in two large towns containing some hundreds of families, nor any that professed the faith of God's own operation or the doctrine of grace. Now, when the Lord set up his sanctuary in

¹ In the tract, *Christening Makes Not Christians*.

² Reuben A. Guild, LL.D., in the *Home Mission Monthly*, 1892, pp. 325-331. James D. Knowles: *Memoir of Roger Williams*. Boston, 1834.

³ Frederick Denison: *Westerly and its Witnesses*, 1626-1876. Providence, 1878. Pp. 28-32.

the midst of us, those heads of families who had been the happy subjects of his grace immediately set up the worship of God in their houses." Niantics shared in some measure with their white neighbors the blessings of that gracious visitation. A church was formed in 1750. Ninigret seems to have been gratified with the change in his tribe:

The same society sent Mr. Bennet (1764) as a teacher. He met with encouragement, and the next year Thomas Ninigret, known as "King Tom"—who came to the throne, such as it was, in 1746—petitioned the society to establish free schools. His letter of request closes expressing the hope "that when time with us shall be no more; that when we and the children, over whom you have been such benefactors, shall leave the sun and stars, we shall rejoice in a far superior light."

Rev. William Thompson "ministered to the Pequots at Mystic and Paweatuck" from 1657 to 1663; he received aid from the Society for Propagating the Gospel. The name of Samuel Niles is mentioned as an earnest "Indian exhorter." The first Niantic ordained as minister of that church was James Simons; the last of any note was Moses Stanton, ordained in 1823. The present meeting house, built of stone, was put up in 1860, but will not improbably yet become like the gravestone of Takawompait at

Natick, a mere monument of a vanished Niantic tribe.

We next come to Connecticut. One of the earliest instances of preaching to the Indians in Connecticut was by John Eliot. He had occasion to come to the city of Hartford to attend a council.¹ After that he addressed the Podunks on the opposite side of the river. But they were ill-disposed toward the English and toward the gospel. Eliot also visited that

In
Connecticut.

part of the Nipmuck country situated in the northeastern part of the State, and a rock in the town of Woodstock, not far from the residence of Henry C. Bowen, Esq., is pointed out on which the apostle to the Indians preached. It was in the years 1673 and 1674 that Eliot, accompanied by Gookin, traveled through this region intent upon making known the word of life.

Abraham Pierson,² who became the first minister in Branford, New Haven County, in 1644, graduated at the University of Cambridge, England, the year after Eliot and Roger Williams came to Massachusetts (1632). Having previously acquired the native language on Long Island, he preached to the red men there and did the same in several plantations of the New Haven Colony during his twenty years' minis-

¹ *Encyclopædia of Missions*, I, 456.

² Mather's *Magnalia*, B. III, Chap. 8.

try in Connecticut before removing to Newark, New Jersey. No marked success appears to have attended this department of his labor.

Rev. James Fitch came to New England seven years later than Eliot and Roger Williams (1638). He was the first pastor of a church in Saybrook, which was removed to Norwich in 1660, where his ministry continued many years. He acquainted himself with the language of the Mohegans in the neighborhood of Norwich, preached to them, and gave them a part of his own land as an inducement to adopt settled and civilized habits. He gathered a church of forty members; but King Philip's War arrested the good work there as elsewhere.

Jonathan Barber, employed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, labored among the Mohegans from 1733 to 1742.

Moravians, too, were early on the ground. Christian Henry Rauch, a missionary, landed in New York, 1740, and proceeding to Dutchess County began work among the Mohegans there. This was a year before David Brainerd commenced his labors at Kaunaameek. Other Moravian laborers joined Rauch. Indians were drawn to them from the western part of Connecticut, especially from Kent, in Litchfield County. The brethren visited that place, as well as Sharon and Salis-

Moravians.

bury; also parts of New Haven and Fairfield Counties. These scattered remnants of Mohegans, Narragansets, and Wampanoags were known in those regions as Scatticokes. But hostile white legislation and trade drove the missionaries away, and many of the Christian Indians followed them to Pennsylvania; but missionaries continued to visit from time to time the Indians who remained behind.

Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, D.D., of Lebanon, Connecticut, established a school, being impressed by the condition of the Indians in that neighborhood, which had reference largely to civilizing and Christianizing them. He met

Wheelock.

with encouragement; but not being able to carry on and especially to enlarge the work at his own expense, he appealed to the public. In 1766 he sent the Rev. Mr. Whittaker, a minister of Norwich, and Samson Occom to Great Britain for the purpose of soliciting aid. In England they raised about seven thousand pounds. The society in Scotland issued a memorial to the ministers of that country, and the result was about two thousand pounds, which remained in the hands of the society and on which interest accrued in years when no remittance was made. The funds in England were placed in the hands of a board of trust, of which the Earl of Dartmouth was the head.

A house and two acres of land having been

given by Joshua Moor, a farmer, the institution took the name of "Moor's Charity School." The legislatures of Connecticut and Massachusetts made grants in aid, and in 1762 Dr. Wheelock had more than twenty youths under his care. Unable to secure land enough in Lebanon, a site was selected in New Hampshire, where the present town of Hanover stands. The school was transferred to that place and Dartmouth College founded, 1769. A charter for both institutions was afterwards obtained, but the funds for each were separately administered.¹ A good deal of unsatisfactory correspondence ensued between Dr. Wheelock and his successors, on the one hand, and the society in Scotland on the other; also between the board of commissioners in Boston and the society. One chief occasion of interchange of letters was the circumstance that Indian youths, whose expenses were to be met, did not present themselves at the college.

Dr. Wheelock had charge of the school in Lebanon about thirty years, and the further charge of it, as well as of the college at Hanover, for nine years. He found, however, that Indian young men, though well educated, could not generally be depended on as educators of

¹ "Wheelock's School was incorporated as Dartmouth College:" *Encyclopædia of Missions*, I, p. 457. This misconception is often met with, but the two institutions were kept distinct.

their countrymen. Of forty such—the celebrated Brant one of them—who had been under his care, one half returned to savage life. With the exception of Samson Occom, it does not appear that any Indians trained at Moor's School turned their education to good account in a marked degree.

Samson Occom sought admission to the fore-named school, 1743, where, in the family of Dr. Wheelock, he remained four or five years. He was the first aboriginal preacher from the new world who visited Great Britain. He had been ordained by the Suffolk Presbytery of Long Island (1759), and during the visit referred to he preached to thronged audiences between three and four hundred times in different parts of the kingdom.

Before going to England he taught a school in New London (1748), but went thence to Montauk, on Long Island, where for a decade he taught among the Indians and preached to them in their own language. In 1786 he removed to Brothertown, or Brotherton, in the neighborhood of Utica, New York, and labored among the Indians who, after enjoying the ministry of Sergeant and President Edwards, had been transplanted from Stockbridge, Massachusetts. A few Mohegans from Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Long Island removed to Brotherton near

the time that Occom went there. He died 1792, aged about seventy, and his funeral was attended by upwards of three hundred Indians. A sermon preached by him at the execution of Moses Paul, an Indian, in New Haven, was published, and he is credited with being the author of the impressive hymn:

"Awaked by Sinai's awful sound."¹

The story of other early evangelistic efforts in behalf of the six nations and in behalf of Indians in the southern colonies would be wearisome. The character, habits, and environment of the aboriginal tribes were unfriendly to evangelistic approaches. The race was, in some respects, comparatively an impracticable one. Indifference to neighboring superiority, aversion to industry, apathy alternating with thirst for war, appeared to doom them to self-destruction. As regards agriculture and other fundamental arts, not to mention refining arts, they were the antipodes of the busy Chinese and the quick-witted Japanese. Their sensibilities were the dullest; they seldom wept or smiled; they had no ennobling traditions.

Conclusion.

The problem of Christianizing red men was a more formidable one than our fathers at first imagined. The early planters of New England engaged in the good work quite as promptly

¹ See Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 855.

as could reasonably have been expected, and in some notable instances their success was beyond reasonable expectation.

Taking a retrospective glance at the path thus far traversed, it will be recollected that apparent ignorance in regard to Protestant missions prior to the nineteenth century, or an inexcusable oversight regarding them, was avowed as one occasion for this series of studies. It is a common but unintelligent impression that interest and effort in the line of foreign evangelization had scarcely any place in New England, or in the country at large, or elsewhere in Protestant Christendom, till near the close of the last century. Consequently undue praise has been bestowed upon the onward movement which then took place. Noteworthy it was; not, however, on the score of priority and entire originality. It was an outcome of thoughts and influences which had long existed. One of the most northern sources of the River Jordan is a spring at Hasbeiya, which sends forth a stream sufficient at once to turn a mill wheel; but it is fed by rivulets under ground that trickle unseen from the heights and slopes of Anti-Lebanon. Similar is it usually with sacred streams that water and fertilize the earth. They start from points various, remote, and elevated, and that attract little attention till seen in a combined and effective flow.

VI

DAVID BRAINERD

INFLUENCE that moves men heavenward measures personal excellence. Religious character is the dwelling place of ultimate spiritual power. To be such as sweetly constrains others to holy living, reproducing similar traits and similar activities, renders any one worthy of study and of a portrait. To that class belongs David Brainerd. His brief career of labor was remarkable, but his religious character more remarkable. His spiritual life was the man. Self-denial was complete in him. Heroism of duty was his characteristic.

When the learned Jerome laid down the *Life of Hilarion* he said, "Well, Hilarion shall be the champion that I will follow; his good life shall be my example and his good death my precedent." The biography of Brainerd has had similar marked influence upon the piety of numerous Christian men. Dr. Ryland, for example, an eminent English minister, was often heard to remark that *Brainerd's Life* ranked



with him next to the Bible. "When reading such lives as those of Brainerd and Doddridge," said Dr. Chalmers, "I have often stood amazed—I could almost say envious of their power to sustain a real and spiritual intercourse with heaven for large portions of a whole day."

**Brainerd's
Influence.**

But it is particularly appropriate that we turn to the roll of missionaries. Brainerd's life impressed and stimulated Carey.¹ Levi Parsons, the first Protestant missionary to enter Jerusalem (1820) with a view to engage in permanent work there, received impulse from Brainerd. He also furnished incitement to Marsden, whose labors in New South Wales and in behalf of New Zealand are well known.²

Nor was Brainerd's stimulating influence limited to such individuals in the first instance. Through them it has been transmitted to yet others. Henry Martyn³ was indebted not a little to David Brainerd; and Professor Tholuck of Halle acknowledges religious indebtedness to Henry Martyn.⁴ Brainerd's influence, extending to various quarters of the world, is still prolonged in many a consecrated life. But

¹ *Memoir*, by Eustace Carey. Chap. III, Sec. 1. *Life*, by George Smith, 449-50.

² J. B. Marsden's *Memoirs of Samuel Marsden*, Chap. I.

³ *Journal and Letters*, I, 162, 444.

⁴ Note 20.

Brainerd as a missionary can be understood only with the knowledge of him as a Christian.

Haddam, in Connecticut, was the place, and April 20, 1718, the date, of his birth. His father, the Hon. Hezekiah Brainerd, was a man of some prominence in the colony, and his ancestry on the maternal side was noteworthy for the number of its ministers. Sobriety and a religious turn of mind characterized his early years. Repeated awakenings and alarms, attended by much prayer and strenuous effort, were experienced, but were marred by a self-righteous element. Imaginary dedication of himself to God, imaginary good frames, with tenderness and earnestness, at intervals marked his inner life. These prolonged and vigorous endeavors, however, proceeded from an aim to earn the divine favor; they were regarded as meritorious and as qualifying for acceptance by Christ. Such striving to make himself his own saviour of course did not succeed. The strictness of God's law, the demand for faith in Christ as a condition, the divine sovereignty as set forth in Romans xi, awakened latent enmity to God. Then at length he saw as in a mirror his real self—his rebellious self; saw that hideous self-conceit had been piling up religious efforts in order to make it too hard for God to cast him off.

Spiritual
Struggles.

He was twenty-one years of age when this

decisive discovery took place. Thereupon ensued the great spiritual change. He found that he was an utterly lost sinner; that no doings of his own could lay God under obligation to bestow mercy. All things became new to him. "My soul rejoiced with joy unspeakable," he says, "to see such a God, such a glorious divine being, and I was inwardly pleased and satisfied that he should be God over all forever and ever.

Christian
Outset.

My soul was so captivated and delighted with the excellency, loveliness, greatness, and other perfections of God that I was even swallowed up in him—at least to that degree that I had no thought (as I remember) at first about my own salvation and scarce reflected that there was such a creature as myself." "At this time the way of salvation opened to me with such infinite wisdom, suitableness, and excellency that I wondered I should ever think of any other way of salvation."

That year (1739) he entered Yale College. While there a revival of religion occurred at New Haven, and Brainerd felt a deep interest in the spiritual welfare of fellow students. The conversion of the celebrated Samuel Hopkins appears to have been due to his influence. But that revival was attended, as elsewhere, by a degree of unhealthful excitement and consequently by some exceptionable proceedings.

Brainerd made privately a remark relating to one of the college tutors, which, being overheard by another student, was communicated to an injudicious woman, and at length reported to the rector or president. A statement of this remark was extorted from those who heard it, for which private offense he was required to make a public confession. Not complying with that unauthorized demand, and having attended a religious meeting contrary to the rector's arbitrary order, he was expelled from college in 1742—his junior year. However inexcusable the offense, the discipline was still more inexcusable. One of Brainerd's biographers' remarks, "That individual fully justified by his subsequent proceedings" the phrase used in regard to the tutor, which was, "He has no more piety than this chair." Other indefensible things occurred at that period. The Rev. Samuel Finley, afterwards president of New Jersey College, was prosecuted for preaching at New Haven, sent to jail, and then sent out of the colony as a vagrant. Ministers of experience and general good judgment were in some instances carried away by an unprecedented tide of excitement. Was it strange that a young collegian should be betrayed into an indiscretion? No similar

¹The Rev. Wm. B. O. Peabody. Chap. I.

imprudence on his part is known to have occurred subsequently. Ten years after that date President Clap himself went to such a meeting as the one which the disciplined student had attended.

Christian graces shone with uncommon luster in Brainerd. The injustice which President Edwards, President Burr, and other dispassionate friends believed to have been done him, so far from souring his spirit, was the occasion of a rare exercise of forgiveness.¹ This truly Christlike temper was far removed from self-complacent placidity. His sensibilities and emotions were keen. For example,

**Religious
Exercises.**

Brainerd's sense of unworthiness and his self-abasement were profound, and this appears to have been independent of the occasion of his being placed under a ban at college. After a century and a half the record before us reads remarkably in a time when we hear so little about conviction of sin: "I see myself infinitely vile and unworthy; . . . an unfathomable abyss of desperate wickedness in the heart." These are the utterances of a man outwardly irreproachable. John Bunyan here comes to mind; but Bunyan had a lively imagination, Brainerd had not. He indulged in none of the illusory experiences of the period—sudden impressions, bright visions, and

¹ Note 21.

the like; nor, on the other hand, does there appear to have been the faintest trace of—what may sometimes be discovered—a subtle self-righteous humiliation, a conceit of wretchedness.

Coupled with a deep and honest self-abasement were lively aspirations after holiness. "I know," so he writes, "that I long for God and a conformity to his will in inward purity and holiness ten thousand times more than for anything here below." What mystic ever had more intense yearning for conformity to God? But Brainerd was not a mystic; his was no ill-regulated fancy, lifting him into the realm of enthusiasm—a realm verging toward pantheism. Likeness to God and personal absorption in God differ widely as heaven from earth. David Brainerd showed no affinity with Eckhart the *Doctor Ecstaticus*. Longing for holiness was with him well defined; was Scriptural, and not lost in rhapsody. Never would he listen to the self-flattery of perfectionism, that comfortable, purring delusion. Forgiveness he sought and obtained through Christ, but he could not forgive himself.

The supreme motive of any man determines his character. What was Brainerd's chief desire? Evidently to renounce self and to honor God. Listen to him once more: "My soul longed with a vehement desire to live to God. . . . My soul cried, Lord, set up thy kingdom

for thine own glory; glorify thyself and I shall rejoice. Get honor to thy blessed name and this is all I desire. Do with me just what thou wilt."

Brainerd was constitutionally melancholy, and that gave a coloring to his religious experience. A morbid tendency had long had place in the family. But who is responsible for the temperament with which he is born? The possibility

His
Temperament.

and duty of correcting inherent tendencies are points not easily determined. Brainerd dwelt disproportionately on the waywardness of his heart—disproportionately as compared with the believer's privilege of contemplating the amplitude of divine promises and the freedom of access to the all-cleansing fountain. Introspection may not have been too frequent nor too searching, but there should have been more of what he enjoined upon others, more of exultant "looking unto Jesus." Holy joy upon the pardon of sin is no less warranted than godly sorrow for sin is demanded.

Brainerd was a man of superior mental power. So President Edwards regarded him.¹ He led his class in college—the largest which up to that time had entered Yale. The logical faculty was well developed. In him religious ardor is easily distinguished from the vehemence

¹ Note 22.

of a wayward fancy or the vehemence of misguided zeal, so sadly exhibited by Separatists during the period of the Great Awakening.

The question is pertinent here, Did Brainerd have exaggerated views of his sinfulness? The superficiality of our day may impute his unusual self-abasement to a disordered temperament. We turn to some of the memoranda and *memorabilia* of penitential autobiography, those not associated with melancholy. "The chiefest of apostles" exclaims, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" The godly Bishop Beveridge confesses:¹ "I cannot
 No Exaggeration.
 pray but I sin; I cannot hear or preach a sermon but I sin; I cannot give an alms or receive the sacrament but I sin; nay, I cannot so much as confess my sins but my very confessions are aggravations of shame. My repentance needs to be repented of; my tears want washing." The seraphic Rutherford records, "Here I die with wondering that justice hindereth not love, for there are none in hell nor out of hell more unworthy of Christ's love." A well-known memorandum of Jonathan Edwards need not be cited; yet was any contemporary of Jonathan Edwards his superior in piety, or more sober-minded than he? We do not, of course, intimate that only such

¹ *Private Thoughts*. Art. IV.

experience is genuine, nor that it is to be sought after. We do inquire, however, Has any man ever had unauthorized discoveries of his ill-desert? If the piercing search-light of heaven, or merely the lightning of Sinai, were turned full upon our inner selves, would any of us have less profound convictions of sin?

Brainerd's despondency, resulting from inborn predisposition, differed, for instance, from a transient experience of Sir Robert Boyle, due to the temporary unsettlement of religious belief; it differed from that of Cowper, which was the hallucination of a disordered mind. It was more like that of the German poet, Gellert, a thoroughly Christian man, yet the victim of great depression of spirit. In Brainerd there was no affinity with enthusiasts like George Fox, nor with zealots who arrogated a superior sanctity, as James Davenport. The hospital is the appropriate home for such. Spiritual delirium never seized him. The ship might seem at times to be water-logged, but compass and helm were still in good order. The pole star was always in place, though the sun did not always shine. The work of grace in his soul appears to have been deeper than that of Augustine, and his diary is of more practical value than the confessions of that renowned church father. His experience was an echo of Romans vii, an object lesson of *Edwards on the*

Affections. This should be added—he kept his melancholy very much to himself; it cast no social gloom. He was companionable, free and entertaining in conversation, with nothing of the demure or morose about him.¹

We have thus seen the man. We now turn to his missionary career. A “Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge” was formed in the year 1709. Not far from the time that Brainerd entered college prominent ministers in the city and neighborhood of New York—among whom were Jonathan Dickinson, of Elizabethtown, and Rev. Aaron Burr, both of them afterwards successively presidents of New Jersey College—wrote to Scotland regarding the wretched condition of Indians in the provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Preliminary. The result was an agreement by the forenamed society to sustain two missionaries among those Indians, also the appointment of a commission, consisting of clergymen and laymen, to administer the affair in behalf of the Scottish organization. The first selection was that of Azariah Horton, who, beginning in August, 1741, labored with considerable success among the Indians on Long Island. They had two small settlements at the east end besides little groups elsewhere. Intemperance, intro-

¹ Edwards' *Memoir of Brainerd*, 382, 473.

duced among them by their white neighbors, was the chief hindrance. The next year (November 25, 1742) Brainerd received appointment from the commissioners or correspondents. He had been previously licensed as a minister of the gospel by the Ministerial Association which met at Danbury, Connecticut, July 29, 1742. His treatment at New Haven did not abate general respect for him.

At this time a controversy was pending in regard to the land-tenure of those Indians among whom Brainerd was expected to labor; and hence, pursuant to information from the missionary (Sergeant) at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, he went to Kaunaumuck,¹ a settlement in the woods between Stockbridge and Albany, nearly midway between the two and about twenty miles from each.² He arrived there April 1, 1743, and remained one year.³ During that time he established a school for the children; by the aid of an interpreter⁴ he preached. Some degree of religious interest was manifested by the Indians; reformation, to a certain extent, especially in their drinking habits and superstitious practices, took place. But

¹ Spelled also by Brainerd, Caunaumuck.

² Note 23.

³ He left March 14, 1744.

⁴ John Kauwaumpegwunnaunt.

the influence of unprincipled men, chiefly Dutch, calling themselves Christians, was baneful. By direction of the commissioners he spent a good deal of time with Sergeant in studying the difficult language, riding twenty miles through the trackless woods and encountering a good many exposures. Once, at least, he was lost, and lay all night in the open air; once he fell into the river. He was able to compose sundry forms of prayer in the vernacular, so that he could pray with his people; also sundry psalms, so that he could lead them in the service of song.

Brainerd's surroundings were very unfavorable. There was no English family within a score of miles. At first he was obliged to lodge two miles from the settlement, in a room made of logs, without a floor; his bed, a little heap of straw laid upon boards; his diet, chiefly boiled corn and bread baked in the ashes. Afterwards he moved into a comfortable wigwam till he could build a shanty for himself. For bread he had to go or send ten or fifteen miles, which was sometimes mouldy and sometimes failed for days altogether.

After Brainerd's eleven and one half months at Kaunaumeeek the commissioners proposed that he should go to the tribe originally contemplated, the Delawares. The Indians at Kaunaumeeek were few in number, and he wisely

advised them to move to Stockbridge, where with their brethren they would be more advantageously situated under the care of Mr. Sergeant.

But will our missionary engage further and elsewhere in this line of labor? His health has already suffered seriously; he had begun, indeed, to raise blood when in college. He has some private property; and, what is more, strong inducements to remain in his native colony were held out. He might have had an eligible settlement at Millington, a village near his birthplace. On his way from Kaunaumeeek and its privations and perils he met a messenger from Easthampton bearing a unanimous

invitation to the pastorate of
No Wavering. that place—then the largest, pleasantest, most wealthy of the parishes on Long Island. The people were acquainted with him, and had before that more than once expressed a similar wish. Was not such a repeated call to be accepted as the clear indication of divine Providence? Brainerd has devoted himself to the welfare of Indians, and thoughts of comfort, of ease, of agreeable society, weigh lightly with him. He deemed it the will of God that he should persevere in his self-denying purpose. Regarding all such matters he said later, "I would not have the choice to make for myself for ten thousand

worlds." Azariah Horton, his contemporary, had resisted a similar temptation. Gordon Hall and many another in the present century have met with similar inducements from the home field and have treated them in the same way. Lucrative positions in the employ of governments, literary labor, authorship, or a professorship may present temptations; but what then? Shall the man who has put his hand to the ministerial or missionary plow look back?

By order of the commissioners Brainerd proceeded to an Indian settlement at the forks of the Delaware River in Pennsylvania, near where Easton is now situated. It is seventy or more miles from New York City and fifty or more north of Philadelphia. He arrived May 13, 1744. A month Among
Delawares. later he received ordination by Presbytery at Newark, New Jersey. In October of the same year he paid his first visit to Indians on the Susquehanna—distant one hundred and twenty miles—at a place where was a gathering of mixed tribes, speaking various languages and not giving promise of being easily reached by religious influence. The visit was repeated in each of the two succeeding years (1745 and 1746).

After laboring in Pennsylvania for more than a year he commenced preaching (June 5, 1745)

at Crossweeksung, in New Jersey. The place, now known as Crosswicks, is about fifty miles southeast from the forks of the Delaware and about sixty southwest from New York. It was there that he met with his greatest success. One year later (May 3, 1746) he, with a body of Indians, removed to Cranberry, fifteen miles northwest from Crosswicks.

We will now glance at some of the limitations which attended that period of labor among the Delawares. The amount of embarrassment cannot be easily appreciated by us. At the middle of the 18th century only limited progress had been made in the construction of roads, and this was especially true as regards Indian settlements. Brainerd had a good deal of traveling to perform. His first journey into

the Middle Colonies, from the neighborhood of Fishkill, on the Hudson, to the Delaware, he speaks of as "about a hundred miles through a desolate and hideous country." Later comes this record (November 22, 1743): "About six at night I lost my way in the wilderness, wandered over rocks and mountains, down hideous steep, through swamps and most dreadful and dangerous places. . . . Was much pinched with cold and distressed with an extreme pain in my head, attended with sickness at my stomach, so that every step I took was distressing to me."

Nor was that a solitary instance of the kind. He lodged on the ground for several weeks together. One night spent thus in the woods he was overtaken by a northeasterly storm, and having no shelter came near perishing. Again, with nothing but some barks for a shelter he heard wolves howling around in the night. During one twelvemonth he traveled four thousand miles.

His state of health is to be kept in mind. The journal makes mention of "no appetite;" "distressing weakness;" "extreme faintness;" "full of pain;" "a cold sweat all night;" "coughing and spitting blood;" "violent fever." Living as he did alone in a mere hut, without nurse or physician, with but few of the necessaries and none of the comforts of life, the only wonder is that his brief missionary career was not yet briefer.

Nor should the character of the Delawares be forgotten. Brainerd's heart was drawn out to them, yet he says: "They are in general unspeakably indolent and slothful. . . . I am obliged to instruct them in, as well as press them to, the performance of their work, and take the oversight of all their secular business. They have little or no ambition or resolution. Not one in a thousand of them has the spirit of a man." Their hamlets were sparsely peopled, there being usually not more than two or

three families in a place, and these small settlements were for the most part miles away from his headquarters. The roving disposition, which was general, did not, of course, favor religious instruction and influence. They became vehemently prejudiced—and not without reason—against those bearing the Christian name. Some of the European settlers in their neighborhood much preferred to have the Indians remain heathens, as they would then be their more easy prey; otherwise, “the hope of their gain was gone.” They represented Brainerd as a knave, as a papist who had come to incite them to insurrection against the English, or else to sell them as slaves. Naturally suspicious, the Indians had their fears thus played upon effectually. If our missionary had been master of the language he would have been in a far more favorable position to meet insinuations, to rebut charges, and to communicate religious instruction. But in the vernacular there was no Bible, no literature, and he had no adequate helps whatever.

It would be superfluous to say that such a man, whose desire was, “O that I could be a flame of fire in the service of my God!” was indefatigable in labor. To preach and catechise, to give private instruction, to take care of their secular affairs as if they were so many children, to ride about frequently in order to

secure means for the support of the school, to decide petty differences among them, left no time for the study of the Indian languages.

And how about the circumstances of his ministrations? In the cold season he had to preach in their wigwams, which were filled with smoke and intolerable filth, which would cause him violent sick headaches. Mothers would take no pains to quiet their crying children. Some in the little audience would be whittling sticks, some playing with the dogs, and some mocking at divine things. Devotedness.

It should be added that as occasion seemed to require he employed his own private means judiciously in aid of the Indians. His salary was forty pounds (two hundred dollars) a year. In less than three years he spent fifteen hundred dollars of his own means, additional to the salary, for mission purposes. A favorable beginning, however, in the line of civilization was made. He induced a portion of the tribe—as previously indicated—to settle in a more compact manner and to undertake agriculture with some degree of system; but the plowing, planting, fence-building, and other operations Brainerd had to oversee himself.

Before the close of his labor at Crossweek-sung a schoolmaster came upon the ground, who, after five months, testified that the chil-

dren—thirty or more—learned with surprising readiness; that he had never had an English school comparable to this, some of the pupils being able within the time named to read the English Psalter or New Testament without pausing to spell the words. Twice a week they were instructed in the *Assembly's Catechism*, and in the course of the first four months some of them were able to repeat considerably more than half of it by heart.

Keeping in mind the environment by which he was hampered, what success in that chief object which he had in view could this invalid expect amidst those savages during his short period of activity? No pause need be made to speak of labor, occasional and incidental, among the Dutch, Germans, and Irish, which was a blessing to those sheep without a shepherd. Brainerd as a missionary

Success. to the Delawares gave heart and strength unreservedly to them. His great aim, his burning desire, was to save souls. Would it have been strange or unprecedented if no appreciable religious impression had been made? Usually the more degraded a people are the less susceptible they are to a sense of guilt. Acute conviction of sin, vivid joy upon a discovery of saving grace through Christ Jesus, and lively religious emotions in general are found for the most part only where there is

some advance in civilization and where the great truths of Christianity have for a longer time been inculcated. Brainerd held a careful pen. Before full three months after his arrival at the forks of the Delaware were passed he noticed appearances of religious concern among the Indians. Before five months had gone by several came of their own accord to talk about their souls' concerns; some, with tears, inquired "what they should do to be saved." Before the seven months of that year (1744) were completed his interpreter, as well as others, was under conviction of sin. One old man, apparently a hundred years of age, wept and seemed deeply convinced of the importance of what he had heard.

We now follow him to Crossweeksung. We bear in mind that the Delawares are still savages, improvident, heedless of the future, stolid, apathetic. Tenderness and humane emotions are little known among them. "But," says Brainerd, "the impressions made upon their hearts appeared chiefly by the extraordinary earnestness of their attention and their heavy sighs and tears." On one occasion there were only two persons with dry eyes. Conscience was aroused, and conviction of sin took hold of them. A "woman appeared in great distress for her soul. She was brought to such agony in seeking after

Revival
Experiences.

Christ that the sweat ran off her face for a considerable time together (although the evening was very cold), and her bitter cries were the most affecting indications of her heart."¹ All classes were moved. No wonder the missionary should remark, "It was very affecting to see the poor Indians, who the other day were hallooing and yelling in their idolatrous feasts and drunken frolics, now crying to God with such importunity for an interest in his dear Son."

May not this have been mere animal excitement, the contagion of superficial, ignorant alarm? The constant aim of our missionary was not to appeal to the feelings but to the understanding, and to present only sober, essential truth. He remarks: "Hence their concern in general was most rational and just. Those who had been awakened any considerable time complained more especially of their *hearts*." Take a specimen: A woman "had been angry with her child the evening before, and was now exercised with fears lest her anger had been inordinate and sinful, which so grieved her that she waked and began to sob before daylight and continued weeping for several hours together." It should be kept in mind that Brainerd was a man of discriminating judgment in regard to spiritual exercises; that he

¹ Note 24.

knowingly gave no encouragement to nervous agitations; that he discountenanced mere rhapsodic and other enthusiastic manifestations.

What now were some of the tokens confirmatory of the statement above? Prayerfulness is one. When leaving them, for example, on a journey to the Susquehanna, before sunset they began and continued praying till near break of day, never mistrusting till they went out and saw the morning star at a considerable height that it was later than bedtime.

Dread of self-deception was another token. Was it said in the early days of our era, "Behold how these Christians love one another?" That might well have been said at Crossweeksung. "I know of no assembly of Christians," writes Brainerd, "where there seems to be so much of the presence of God, where brotherly love so much prevails, and where I should take so much delight in the public worship of God in general as in my own congregation, although not more than nine months ago under the power of pagan darkness and superstition." Genuine Work.

The main point here is, What was actually accomplished by this young consumptive missionary, single-handed and in so short a term of service? Neither he nor our holy religion was responsible for a later sad history of aboriginal tribes, nor do we need to tarry

here in order to descant upon the cupidity and manifold iniquity of white men. Testimonials from other sources were hardly required; yet ministers—William Tennent, of Freehold, one of them—and church officers living comparatively near Brainerd's field of operations, and having personal acquaintance therewith, volunteered warm attestations to the remarkable character of the results. One of them wrote, "I am for my part fully persuaded that this glorious work is true and genuine, while with satisfaction I behold several of these Indians, discovering all the symptoms of inward holiness in their lives and conversation." The year after Brainerd's decease (1748) a competent witness visiting Bethel, the Indian settlement at Cranberry, writes: "The state and circumstances of the Indians, spiritual and temporal, much exceed what I expected. Notwithstanding my expectations were very much raised from Mr. David Brainerd's journal and from particular information from him, yet I must confess that in many respects they are not equal to that which now appears to me to be true concerning the glorious work of divine grace among the Indians."¹

After all is it to be supposed that a tribe so

¹ Rev. Job Strong: *Life of John Brainerd*, 144.

rude, so sunk in superstition, so enslaved by traditions and a dark heredity, can in a short time become the subjects of anything more than transient impressions? Did a radical change of character and life result? Transformation came and was indeed sudden. Brainerd says, "The pagans who were awakened seemed at once to put off their savage roughness and pagan manners, and became sociable, orderly, and humane in their carriage." "This day (July 19, Confirmations.

1746) makes up a complete year from the first time of my preaching to these Indians in New Jersey. What amazing things has God wrought in this space of time for this poor people! What a surprising change appears in their tempers and behavior! How are morose and savage pagans in this short period transformed into agreeable, affectionate, and humble Christians, and their drunken and pagan howlings turned into devout and fervent praises to God?"

One incident reminds us of what occurred at Ephesus, "Many of them also which used curious arts brought their books together and burned them before all men." Brainerd records: "It was likewise remarkable that this day (August 25, 1745) an old Indian, who had all his days been an idolater, was brought to give up his rattles—which they use for music

in their idolatrous feasts and dances—to the other Indians, who quickly destroyed them. This was done without any attempt of mine in the affair.” Did the apostles on their evangelistic tours take with them young converts as assistants? Our missionary’s earlier efforts in Pennsylvania having been but partially successful, at a later date (February 16, 1746) he took with him half a dozen from Crossweeksung, who did effective service.¹

What were the numerical results of Brainerd’s labor? It will be recollected that the Delawares, so far as accessible by him, were not numerous. Toward the close of his first year among them he had baptized thirty-eight adults; but he baptized no adults except such as appeared to have a work of grace wrought in their hearts. At one time he speaks of eighty as either inquirers or apparently converted. It was probably the progress of disease and consequent bodily weakness that prevented a closing statistical review of labor among the Delawares.

A question of no small historical and practical importance here presents itself: What were Brainerd’s chief methods? Two leading features are obvious. The first is the evangelical truths which he inculcated. We listen

¹ Note 25.

once more: "I have frequently been enabled to represent the divine glory, the infinite preciousness, and transcendent loveliness of the great Redeemer, the suitableness of his person and purchase to supply the wants and answer the utmost desires of immortal souls; to open the infinite riches of his grace and the wonderful encouragement proposed in the gospel to unworthy, helpless sinners; to call,

Methods.

invite, and beseech them to come and give up themselves to him and be reconciled to God through him; to expostulate with them respecting their neglect of one so infinitely lovely and freely offered; and this in such a manner, with such freedom, pertinency, pathos, and application to the conscience as I am sure I never could have made myself master of by the most assiduous application of mind." "God was pleased to give these divine truths such a powerful influence upon the minds of these people, and so to bless them for the effectual awakening of numbers of them, that their lives were quickly reformed, without my insisting upon the precepts of morality and spending time in repeated harangues upon external duties."

Such were the Scripture truths enforced by Brainerd—the momentous facts of prime moment to every man, savage and civilized alike—the preaching of which has ever been

mighty to the pulling down of strongholds and stirring those depths of the soul which need to be stirred. Like the apostles he did not wait for the slow processes of school education, but addressed himself first of all and mainly to adults.

The other chief element of Brainerd's power as a missionary was his prayerfulness. That habit characterized him from the earliest period of his religious life. Before entering upon

Prayerfulness. work among the Indians his journal contains memoranda such as these: "God enabled me so to agonize in prayer that I was quite wet with perspiration, though in the shade and the cool wind. My soul was drawn out very much from the world for multitudes of souls."¹ Once entered upon labor in behalf of the red men he says: "My great concern was for the conversion of the heathen to God, and the Lord helped me to speak for them." "Praying incessantly every moment with sweet fervency." "I feel as if my all was lost and I was undone for this world if the poor heathen may not be converted." "In prayer I was exceedingly enlarged." "Spent a great part of the day (December 19, 1744) in prayer to God for the outpouring of his Spirit on my poor people."

¹ Note 26.

In journeying from place to place, before preaching and after preaching, and even in his dreams supplication for individuals and for the people at large was the business of his heart. As a prince he had power with God and with men. Such a wrestler could not but prevail. His faith removed mountains. The student or missionary who receives no impulse to prayer, to self-scrutiny, to heartiest consecration, from a perusal of Brainerd's memoir must either have made very rare attainments in the divine life or else have very languid aspirations. Given such preaching and praying by all ministers and missionaries, how long before the world would be converted?

Owing to the progress of pulmonary consumption he was compelled to leave the work in 1747. Deducting the time occupied by two short visits to New England, by other short absences, and the weeks during which he was laid aside owing to sickness—at one time confined nearly four months—there remain less than two years and **Brief Period.** a half for actual labor among the Delawares. Enough is known to authorize the statement that since apostolic days there has probably not been a case in which, all things considered, such religious results have attended the brief labors of a solitary missionary among pagan men of the woods. It was nearly six

years after his arrival in Burmah before Judson baptized a convert; seven years before Moravians rejoiced over a converted Greenlander; fifteen years before the pioneer band—thirty in number—of the London society's mission to the South Seas were cheered by a conversion on Tahiti; and a quarter of a century before Rhenish missionaries among the Hereroes of South Western Africa began to gather fruit from their sowing.

During Brainerd's four years of missionary life he had no comfortable home. At different places of sojourn he successively built for himself a cabin, in each instance rude and most scantily furnished. Suitable food, medicine, and nursing were rare. Great exposures were frequent; hardships constant; debility and sickness inevitable. Hectic fever, night sweats, and hemorrhages from the lungs were

Last Days. a natural consequence. Few men so reduced in bodily strength would have remained as long at their post. March 20, 1747, occurred his last interview with the Delawares, though not at the time supposed by him to be such. After the expiration of nearly a month from that date he left New Jersey; and, hoping still for improved health, proceeded by slow stages to New England, and after a month's time arrived at Northampton. One object was to consult a physician in that place. A part

of June and July was spent in Boston. Returning to Northampton and to the house of President Edwards, he continued to suffer and to fail. The longed-for departure came October 9, 1747. Anticipating the event, he often called it "that glorious day!"

In our day a distinguished French artist¹ at twenty-nine was decorated with the badge of the Legion of Honor; a century before that David Brainerd at the same age,² amidst ten thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands, received the crown of glory that fadeth not away.

¹ Paul Gustave Doré.

² Note 27.

VII

DANISH MISSIONS.

DENMARK, though territorially so small, has eminence in four things. Her population is said to be better supplied with Bibles than that of any other country; her government was the first in Europe to furnish education for the whole people, and is today expending more *per capita* for that purpose than any other nation in the old world; she was the first to proscribe the slave trade; and the first on the Continent, in the eighteenth century, to send missionaries to the heathen. It was, however, in Germany that the revived evangelical spirit two hundred years ago took its rise, and out of that revival arose foreign missions. The first missionaries and a large majority of their successors in the early Danish movement were from Germany; funds for their support to no inconsiderable amount were supplied from the same source, while the really directing mind of that enterprise was also in Germany. It

might therefore be suitably denominated Germano-Danish.

Our attention may well be drawn to that little kingdom by an ancestral interest. Not more truly is England our mother country than Denmark is a mother country of the English. Thence came the language, the name, and the invading race—Angles—with whom, in the fifth century, begins the history of the English people—English as distinguished from antecedent British. With the bold Angles—a name still found in the duchy of Holstein—was early associated a neigh-

boring people, kindred in race Anglo-Saxons.
and speech, and hence arose the designation Anglo-Saxons. In that primeval homestead, that England older than Old England, is an early historic fountain of the blood now coursing through our veins. Present Anglo-Saxon enterprise, whether maritime or evangelistic, had its counterpart at that period when the Northmen became a terror in nearly all the waters of Europe, establishing a place for themselves in France, plundering Paris, and giving their name to Normandy; pushing their way up the Guadalquivir; measuring prowess with the Moors of Spain; sacking Seville; founding a new kingdom in Naples; and assisting in the capture of Sidon. They were “the Arabs of the deep.” Such was the terror inspired gen-

erally by the Vikings during this long predatory period that in the ninth century these words were added to the Litany, "From the rage of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us!"¹ Early in the eleventh century the Danes, having conquered a part of Scotland and the whole of England, set their own king (Canute) on the throne, and he became the most powerful monarch of his time. At the close of the fourteenth century Denmark ranked among the leading powers of Europe—Margaret, the Semiramis of the North, having by her courage and address united the three crowns of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.

Frederick IV, whose name stands connected with the earliest Protestant mission of the eighteenth century, came to the throne in 1699. He found the treasury exhausted, commerce

crippled, and the kingdom laboring under heavy difficulties. His struggle with Charles XII of Sweden, that thunderbolt of war, only increased embarrassments. But the Spirit of God was at work preparing the way for a movement that should mark an epoch in the history of Protestantism. Already while crown prince the king had reflected on the condition of the heathen, and since coming to the throne he had consulted his spiritual adviser, Dr. Jespersen, in regard

¹ *A furore Normannorum libera nos, O Domine.*

to sending Christian laborers among his Finnish subjects in Lapland. "Kings shall be thy nursing fathers" was predicted of old; and today the saying may be heard in Denmark when anything noble or beautiful takes place, "This proceeds from the king."

But how came Frederick's thoughts to move in the direction of India? The wealth flowing to other nations of Europe from the East India trade had, a century before, stimulated the enterprise of Denmark also, and in spite of numerous failures she made repeated attempts to find a northwest passage to Eastern Asia. At length the domination of Roman Catholic powers, especially Portugal, began to wane.¹ The Danes, as well as the Dutch, relinquishing the long cherished idea of a highway to India through Behring Strait, and accepting the route by the Cape of Good Hope, acquired colonial possessions in the East. In the year 1621 Denmark purchased from the Rajah of Tanjore a permanent footing on the Coromandel Coast, and the mind of any one on the throne might well be impressed with a sense of obligation to his pagan subjects.

The immediate occasion of this new movement was a widow's distress. One evening in the month of March, 1705, Frederick sits read-

¹ Alex J. D. D'Orsey: *Portuguese Discoveries, Dependencies, and Missions in Asia and Africa*. London, 1893.

ing petitions from his people. Among them is one from a widow whose husband and eldest son, belonging to the garrison at Tranquebar, have been murdered by the natives. She asks aid for herself and her five remaining children. The king affords help; but immediately sends

for his chaplain, Dr. Lützens, whom
Origin. he had called the year before from

Berlin, to consult with him about a mission to India. The good man enters warmly into the plan, and, though in a time of war, he is commissioned to look out for candidates. They are not, however, to be found in Denmark.¹ The new spiritual life, reproachfully termed "Pietism," having Halle for its center, was felt but slightly in this neighboring kingdom; and Frederick authorized his court preacher, who had been his religious instructor in youth, to seek missionaries elsewhere. Dr. Lützens' acquaintance in Germany led to a correspondence which brought to light two young graduates

from Halle—Henry Plütschau and
First Bartholomew Ziegenbalg. In 1811
Missionaries. the American Board sent to Eng-

land for pecuniary coöperation; a century earlier Denmark sent to Germany for men.

The parents of Ziegenbalg died when he was young. One incident of his mother's last days he could never forget. Gathering the family

¹ Note 29.

round her bed she said, "Dear children, I have a great treasure for you—a very great treasure have I collected for you." The eldest daughter asked where it was. "Seek it in the Bible, my dear children," answered the dying woman; "there you will find it. I have watered every page with my tears." The first Protestant mission to India originated in the heart of a praying mother. "There is a river the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God." The death of Ziegenbalg's father was also attended by noteworthy circumstances. A fire broke out in the place of his residence—Pulsnitz, a town sixteen miles northwest from Dresden—and reached the house where he lay unable to move. In their agitation friends could think of no way to remove the helpless man except by placing him in the coffin which for some time had been in readiness, and being thus carried out to the market place he died there.

In childhood Ziegenbalg exhibited unusual seriousness. As a youth he maintained habits of devotion which made him the target of ridicule for his schoolmates. Visiting various universities he nowhere found students like-minded with himself nor teachers so faithful as at Halle. From 1694 to 1730 that was the leading German university, and at the time of Ziegenbalg's stay there it was the focus of

a spiritual revival. In conversation one day Francke said to him regarding the heathen of India, "If one can truly lead a soul to God from amongst that people it is as much as winning a hundred in Europe, for these latter have each day means and opportunities sufficient for their conversion, while the former are entirely without them." That remark made a lasting impression upon him. He and a friend of his, Von der Linde, entered into a covenant, as follows: "We will seek nothing else in the world but the glory of God's name, the spread of God's kingdom, the propagation of divine truth, the salvation of our neighbor, and the constant sanctification of our own souls, wherever we may be and whatever of cross-bearing and suffering it may occasion us."

Study was much interrupted by ill health, for he suffered from bodily weakness; yet he and Plütschau, his friend at the university, had become known by their acquirements, their piety, and their traits of character as qualified for such an undertaking in the distant East. It is one of the noticeable coincidences, often recurring in the history of missions, that Professor Francke, the founder of the Orphan House at Halle, had just been conferring with Ziegenbalg in regard to personal service among the heathen when the unlooked-for inquiry came from Copenhagen.

To become pioneers at that time was a very different thing from what it is now to make an offer of foreign service. No healthful general sentiment on the subject existed. The charge of presumption had to be met, for not till years after Ziegenbalg's death did the labors of Eliot and the Mayhews become known in Germany.¹ More The Period. trying still, the young men were pronounced enthusiasts and fools. But their purpose was not to be shaken. Commended to the king and to his worthy chaplain the two students went to Denmark, were ordained, and sailed (November 29, 1705) for the East Indies. The enterprise might be further denominated Dano-Hallensian.

It should not be imagined that at the capital any general interest was felt in this movement. Nor should too favorable an inference be drawn regarding the religious character of Frederick IV. The fact that Cyrus liberated the chosen people did not prove him to be a worshiper of the true God. Pope Gregory the Great, who bought Anglo-Saxon youths at the slave market to educate them as missionaries for Britain, and who sent zealous Augustine on the same errand, was not altogether a model of piety. Frederick, while not upon so low a level as the average

¹ Professor Nitzsch, in Piper's *Zeugen der Wahrheit*, I, p. 613.

of contemporary monarchs, is not reported to have been a faultless man.¹ Nor was the sentiment of Copenhagen very deeply religious. No crowded audiences gave the young men welcome or farewell. With few exceptions people looked upon the missionaries as enthusiasts. The thought of effort to save others, and especially the heathen, was remote from the general mind. Self-seeking ruled the day. In Heligoland, not far from the track of our missionaries' outward voyage, the inhabitants subsisted in part by wrecking, and their pastor, even down to the present century, prayed every Sabbath morning for a fresh supply of shipwrecks.² On the nineteenth of July, 1706, the two missionaries reached their destined haven, after a voyage of two hundred and twenty-three days, including a short stop at the Cape of Good Hope.

Tranquebar, at that time a Danish possession, on the Coromandel Coast, was the merest foothold. It had an area of only fifteen square

The Field. miles, with a fortified seaport and about twenty smaller towns or villages within the district. The population was not far from fifteen thousand. One hundred and forty miles southwest from Madras, it is

¹ Schlosser: *History of the Eighteenth Century*. Translated London, 1845.

² Hurst's *Life and Literature in the Fatherland*, p. 392.

situated at the mouth of one branch of the Cavery, that sacred stream which traverses Mysore, and then, visiting the Carnatic, imparts productiveness there—the very Nile of the peninsula. Its delta is unsurpassed in fertility by any other on the globe.

This is India, and yet of that vast territory only a fraction. Survey that enormous triangle, nearly equilateral, each side not far short of two thousand miles—an area equal to Europe; equal to the United States east of the Rocky Mountains. The southern apex (Cape Comorin) is as far from the Himalayas as Gibraltar is from Iceland. Within India.

these boundaries are found one in every five of the entire present population of our globe, one country alone having a larger number. The Roman Empire in its widest extent never had half as many millions as are here congregated. Politically India is not a country, but a congeries of countries. You may count considerably more than one hundred separate states, to which the imperial government of Great Britain holds relations of varying supervision. Racial differences are numerous, and all grades of civilization are found here. Would you communicate with the people in all their vernaculars? Your polyglot will not fall short of two hundred languages, including dialects. Traversing India you will find it the land of peacocks, of

elephants, of tigers, of lions too; hence such titles as Singe, Lion, and the like. It is also the land of serpents. Official returns show that from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand of the inhabitants are annually victims of wild beasts, crocodiles, and deadly snakes. Few of the more valuable productions of any climate can be named which are not found here. Wherever practicable, rice is cultivated—the article which sustains a greater number of human beings than any other plant and which yields to the acre the largest amount of nutriment. India is preëminently the land of palms, that are unsurpassed in gracefulness and beauty. Nowhere else does the banyan attain such dimensions. There is one in Guzerat under the canopy of which five regiments of soldiers may find complete shelter from the sun's rays. The circuit of its outer stems measures two thousand feet. *Quot rami, tot arbores.*

India has immemorially enriched the West. To have its carrying trade has always been a guaranty of wealth. Herodotus, a contemporary of Nehemiah, reported it as the most opulent country in the world. Its foreign trade in our day is eighty odd million dollars a year. India has long been known as the land of gold, though it has no mines of that precious metal. Better than such, the balance of trade has uniformly been in her favor. Reputed riches have

long tempted the trader and the invader. Follow up the Ganges through the region of Hindustan proper to the great rocky barrier and its Khyber Pass, the northwest gate to India; through that Alexander led his Macedonian troops, three hundred years before Christ, and through that have since poured not less than seven eventful invasions.

Over this land, where the sun shineth in his strength, there broods a hoary antiquity. Before the first step toward the foundation of Rome was taken—indeed before Abraham built his first altar in Canaan—the *Rig-Veda* was a religious authority in India. While our remote ancestors were still rude barbarians in Great Britain civilized men were here mounted on elephants, were living in palaces, and possessed of a literature which Western scholars of today are exploring with wonder. India has immemorably stimulated the Occidental imagination. The fascination is not yet wholly dissipated.

At Tranquebar—which in size is related to the rest of India as Denmark is to the continent of Europe—was established the first permanent Protestant mission on this widespread mainland. The previous history of these Danes in the line of evangelization in the East was not particularly creditable. During the war waged between them and their neighbors in Bengal it was a common practice to treat the crews of

captured privateers as slaves; to baptize them, and then sell them at a price varying from five to ten piasters apiece.

While we accord to Denmark priority in establishing a stable mission to the heathen of continental India, we at the same time raise the question, Why had she, a Christian power, held this possession full fourscore years without evangelizing her Hindu subjects? It is small relief to hear in reply that England had, even for a century, been guilty of similar remissness.

Ziegenbalg and Plütschau not going out in the employ of a voluntary society nor of a church board, but with a commission bearing the sign manual of the king, it might be expected that their reception would have at least the forms of courtesy. So far from that there

was positive unkindness. After
Early landing they were left for hours
Experiences. under a burning sun just outside the gates and then in the market place. But they had an interest with the King of kings. "For, as we had no human being," say they, "near us of whom we could ask advice as to how this or that should be begun, we went always to our dear Father in heaven and laid everything before him in prayer, and we were heard and supported by him both in advice and in deed." They had been students under Francke, whose motto was, *Ora et labora*.

The climate is enervating. The Carnatic is the most intensely tropical part of India. They had come to a region where Brahmanism was more imperious than in almost any other district and Romanism no less unscrupulous than elsewhere, and where, by their own countrymen, their work was deemed visionary. Indeed, an attempt to Christianize the natives was regarded as intrusive. Even the Danish chaplain looked coldly upon these Christian brethren. They had few precedents, except in the Acts of the Apostles. They addressed themselves as soon as practicable to the study of Tamil, the chief language of that region. Dictionary and grammar did not exist nor competent native teachers. The Portuguese—the first Europeans to secure possessions there—had left their language, as well as numerous descendants, behind them—the one about as mixed and corrupt as the other. The Indo-Portuguese dialect and the purer language of Portuguese literature our missionaries endeavored to master, that they might make themselves useful to that portion of the people.

After months of disappointing efforts to break through the barriers that hedged in the Tamil they took a native school, with its master, into their house; and they might be seen sitting on the ground among the children, tracing with them letters, syllables, and words in the

sand.¹ Mastery of the vernacular should always be the first endeavor of a missionary. Ziegenbalg began a dictionary which, in the course of two years, contained twenty thousand words and expressions—one column in Tamil character, one in Roman style, and a third the meaning in German. Four years

Initial Labors. later it had grown to forty thousand words and phrases. The vernacular literature of India is chiefly in the form of poetry, and Ziegenbalg constructed a poetical lexicon of seventeen thousand words and phrases—not, however, without the aid of native amanuenses.

Before the close of the year after their arrival they began to catechise in Portuguese, and at the beginning of the next year in Tamil. They opened a school in German for the benefit of Europeans who understood that language. Early in their work this record was made, "If the Lord shall be pleased to grant us the conversion of but one soul among the heathens we shall think our voyage sufficiently rewarded"—a thought repeatedly expressed. Ten months from the time they set foot on the coast of India the first baptism took place (May, 1707), when five slaves, after undergoing examination, received that ordinance. Many slaves were held by the Danes and Germans, as it was no unusual thing for the natives in

¹ Note 30.

times of great scarcity to sell themselves for food and raiment.

Better accommodation for worship was now needed; the ship, however, which had come in brought neither funds nor an encouraging word. But Ziegenbalg was a man of strong faith. "We begin," he writes, "in great poverty, but in firm trust and confidence in God, to build in a great street in the city." "Many mocked at us, but some were moved to pity and to helping us." Two months after laying the corner stone they dedicated (August 7, 1707) their new place of worship—the earliest Protestant chapel for natives on the continent of Asia, as the one erected more than a century later (1822) at Bombay by missionaries of the American Board was the first on the west coast of India.¹

The two missionaries now began to preach twice every Sunday, both in Tamil and Portuguese, besides holding catechetical exercises on several days of the week.² They had also opened schools. Their heart was in the work. "We cannot express," say they, "what a tender love we bear toward our new planted congregations. Nay, our love is arrived to that degree, and our forwardness to serve this nation

¹ Note 31.

² Plütschau, as well as Gründler, afterwards preached in Portuguese.

is come to that pitch, that we are resolved to live and die with them." Their engagement was for only five years.

At length, in the midsummer of 1708, a ship arrived from Denmark, bringing only half the promised amount of funds; but a part of the cargo, in being landed, through the carelessness of drunken sailors went to the bottom and with it the thousand rix-dollars of mission money, never to be recovered. The hostile commandant and his *attachés* only jeered, saying they had always been right in declaring that heaven was high above the missionaries' heads and Copenhagen very far away!

Disappoint-
ments.

The Danish officials and most of the European residents at Tranquebar had gone there for worldly purposes, and the mere presence and evangelical faithfulness of such men as these missionaries were a silent rebuke to the ungodly. The commandant and the whole privy council maintained opposition and seemed bent upon crushing the good work. Ziegenbalg felt constrained to appeal directly to King Frederick for protection in his own behalf and in behalf of the congregation, which, within less than three years, had increased to one hundred souls, besides the candidates for baptism. One royal order after another was sent out enjoining favor toward the mission, but in vain.

"In perils by mine own countrymen." Ziegenbalg was unjustly thrown into prison, confined there for four months, and so closely guarded that no outsider could get access to him. During the first month of confinement even pen and ink were denied him. But the One who stood by Paul and Silas at Philippi, by Judson at Ava, by Worcester and Butler in the penitentiary of Georgia, stood by Ziegenbalg in the Danish dungeon at Tranquebar. The injured man showed a forgiving spirit. Whatever else might be refused he could not be denied the luxury of praying for his persecutors. If they would go to the extreme of injury he would go to the extreme of love. Thus he conquered the commandant, whose name was Hassius, a Norwegian by birth. Released from confinement, the injured man found his congregation scattered—intimidation and persecution having done their work—and he must begin anew. But the cruel proceeding was overruled for good. "Our imprisonment," Ziegenbalg wrote, "has been as a bell ringing far and wide throughout Europe to awaken many thousand souls to compassionate us and our young and growing community."

At length friendly letters, remittances of money, and John Ernest Gründler, as a reinforcement, arrived (1709). He, too, had taken

his degree at Halle. He conceived so ardent a desire to carry the gospel to the heathen that he was ready to go out at his own charges if no other way presented. Polycarp Jordan, a fellow student, did follow at his own expense. Though a German, Gründler, like his two predecessors, went to Copenhagen for ordination, together with John Bövingh, who was one of a reënforcement, but he proved a marplot in the mission. Gründler, truly happy in his work, became one of the ablest of Christian

laborers. This excellent man survived his friend¹ Ziegenbalg only a year, and the tombs of the two are on opposite sides of the altar in the Jerusalem Church at Tranquebar, as the remains of Luther and Melancthon, similarly disposed, lie in the old Castle Church at Wittenberg.

Not only was a reënforcement of ordained men sent out, but also a printing press—funds being furnished by friends in England—and a German printer. The ship which carried press and printer, sailing from England (1711), was captured by a privateer at Rio de Janeiro and the cargo seized, but the printing press, being stored away in the hold, escaped. In a similar way, at the close of the century, the London Missionary Society's ship, the Duff, suffered

¹ *Beide waren in Wahrheit ein Herz und eine Seele.* C. C. J. Schmidt. III, p. 123.

capture by the privateer Bonaparte on the South American Coast. This press was the first set up by Protestant Christians in Hindustan¹ (1710).

Ziegenbalg's zeal could not be restricted to the narrow territory of Tranquebar. Dressed in native costume, like William Chalmers Burns and others more recently in China, he made excursions, visiting Madras and Nagapatam, and devoting more or less time to labors at Cuddalore beneath the banyan where now stand a mission house and church. He endeavored to obtain admittance to Tanjore, but the Danes had shown such intense greed of gain as effectually prejudiced the natives against his approach. Wherever practicable he exerted himself in behalf of heathens, Mohammedans, and Catholics.

Ziegenbalg's
Ardor.

There was a touch of Martin Luther about him. Malignant opposition of Romanists made the Tranquebar missionary cry out in prayer: "May the Lord of hosts, whose work we design to promote, perfect us and gather unto himself at last a church and peculiar people from among this wild multitude of heathens! And then let the Devil and his infernal herd rage against it to the utmost; we know there is an overruling Power confining him to such

¹ Note 32.

boundaries as he will not be able to pass." Bold, ardent, courageous, and somewhat impulsive, he was occasionally betrayed into apparent rashness, as when on one occasion he demolished an idol in the presence of heathen worshipers.

Plütschau, faithful but quiet, and somewhat deficient in force of character, having completed the period of his engagement (five years) and suffering from impaired health, returned home in 1711. Three years later Ziegenbalg paid a visit to Europe.

Europe
Visited.

There were difficulties which he hoped a personal conference with the directors of the Danish East India Company and with the College of Missions would enable him to remove. Speaking of his departure he wrote: "Every one of our young men and old men have wet my hands and my feet with tears."

Denmark was then at war with Sweden; but the king received our returned missionary as he had Plütschau, very graciously, at Stralsund in Pomerania, which he was then besieging. Ziegenbalg naturally visited Copenhagen. At Halle and elsewhere in Germany his presence awakened interest; his preaching was eloquent, and crowds thronged to hear him. The Duke of Würtemberg favored collections being

¹ He left Tranquebar October 26, 1714.

taken up throughout his dominion. In returning to India our missionary—now accompanied by a help meet for him—went to England, where he had an audience with George I and the royal family, preached repeatedly in the Savoy and royal chapel, and received many contributions for the work in India. His stay, though not long, was the occasion of new interest in the cause of missions to the heathen. But religious life was then at a low ebb. As on the Continent, latitudinarianism and spiritual languor prevailed. Throughout the Church of England, and to a sad extent also among dissenting bodies, a semi-pagan praise of virtue instead of Christ and him crucified filled the pulpit, and a semi-rationalism was spreading.

The next year after Ziegenbalg's return¹ to Tranquebar (1717) over thirty natives were admitted by baptism to the Christian community and the year following upwards of fifty. In the course of twelve years' active service he performed no small amount of literary labor. On his voyage to Europe just referred to he took with him a Tamil boy for the sake of continued exercise in the language, and then commenced in Latin a grammar of the Tamil, which to this day is not wholly superseded. In the same manner, more than a century later (1845), Judson, when he sailed from

¹ He arrived March, 1716.

Maulmain for Boston, took with him two native assistants that he might continue his preparation of the Burmese dictionary. Ziegenbalg engaged in the translation of several minor productions, some of them from the Halle stock of literature. Choice German hymns were rendered into Tamil. But his chief work was the translation of the entire New Testament and a portion of the Old Testament, as far as the Book of Ruth. This formed the basis of the Tamil Scriptures now in use. It has the defects characteristic of many translations of the Scriptures—it was not idiomatic.¹ Thus two hundred years after Luther's immortal work the first version of God's Word into a language of India was made. It should be added that the Tamil belongs to the Dravidian, the Southern great stock of languages, and though the Sanskrit element is large—forty per cent—it is less than in most others. The area of Tamil-speaking natives is about the same as that of England and Wales, and the Tamulians are the most important family of peoples in the southern part of the peninsula. But neither the Sanskrit, that mother of languages, unsurpassed by any other, living or dead, in its power of precision and expansion, nor the English, so much coveted by young Hindustan, nor any

Literary
Labors.

¹ Note 33.

other foreign tongue can be the medium of general evangelization. That must be the office of vernaculars. Ziegenbalg wisely set about the translation of our Holy Scriptures into the Tamil. The first edition of the New Testament was issued in 1715. Since that date versions of a part or the whole of the Bible have been made into perhaps threescore other native languages, to say nothing of sundry various tentative translations. India has thus been enriched beyond all that Golconda ever yielded. Do we hold to the unique divine inspiration of our canon, and, while conceding the human elements, yet do we bow to the volume as supremely authoritative? To the apprehension of the Hindu there are scores of productions in his sacred literature that issued as the very breath from the mouth of the Self-existent. The pundit deems our Bible puny. His own divine writings he pronounces a fathomless, shoreless ocean. With him vastness is a criterion of excellence. He revels in the interminable. Does the reading of three great epics—the *Iliad*, the *Æneid*, and *Paradise Lost*—seem a rather formidable undertaking in our busy age? The great epic of India, the *Mahabharata*, is double the length of those three combined. Time is of small value in the East. Hindu imagination revels in vague immensity and inane prolixity.

Marshall, who devotes two stout volumes to disparaging Protestant missionaries, remarks: "Of Ziegenbalg but little need be said, for it does not appear that his life supplies any material for history."¹ To lead the first mission which carried the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ to continental India; to do this in spite of prejudice, misconception, derision, apathy, and calumny (one pamphlet pronounced him "a Pietist and an impious idiot"); to give the book of the new covenant in their own language to a people numbering fifteen millions, from whom Romish propagandists had withheld it for more than a century; to consume strength in a self-denying, persistent devotion to the highest interests of a pagan people, some of whom are now praising God in glory—will strike others as not unworthy of record.

"Far in the East I see upleap
The streaks of first forewarning,
And they who sowed the light shall reap
The golden sheaves of morning."

Cotton Mather, to whom Ziegenbalg had written in Latin, replies in the same language: "A work how illustrious! how celestial! how sublime! O, thrice and four times happy they who are ministers of God in such a work! Happy though never so much harrassed with

¹ *Christian Missions*, I, p. 280.

labors and watchings and perpetual troubles! Happy beyond all expression did they but know their own happiness!"¹ A purse made up by young gentlemen in Boston was forwarded to Ziegenbalg in aid of his charity schools. Prayer, also, was elicited in behalf of the work carried on at Tranquebar.² The Archbishop of Canterbury, writing to Ziegenbalg and Gründler (on New Year's Day), says: "I consider your lot is far higher than all church dignities. Let others be prelates, patriarchs, and popes; let them be adorned with purple and scarlet; let them desire bowings and genuflections—you have won a greater honor than all these."

Ziegenbalg had overworked. Perplexities wore upon him. Discouragements are peculiarly relaxing and disheartening in the tropics. Amidst his valuable labors fatal sickness came upon him, and the twenty-third day of February, 1719, was his last on earth.³ He asked to have the hymn sung:

"Jesus, my Redeemer, lives;
Christ, my trust, is dead no more."⁴

Putting his hands to his eyes he exclaimed:

¹ *Opus quam illustre, quam celeste, quam sublime*, etc.

² Note 34.

³ *Doch die Nacht kam noch vor mittag*. Baierlein, p. 84.

⁴ *Jesus, meine Zuversicht*. By Louisa Henrietta von Brandenburg, wife of the Great Elector, Frederick William.

"How is it all so clear? It seems as if the sun were shining in my eyes!" At thirty-six years of age Clive, the hero of Plassey and founder of the British Empire in India, was raised to the peerage; at thirty-six Ziegenbalg was raised to a place among those "made kings and priests unto God and his Father." Thirty-six was the age of John Mayhew when he closed his missionary work on Martha's Vineyard and when Samuel J. Mills was committed to the great cemetery of the sea. At the same age Ann Haseltine Judson, the first American woman who resolved to go to India as a missionary, was buried beneath a widespreading Hopia tree in Burmah; and the same year, at the same age, Gordon Hall, the first American missionary in Bombay, amidst the agonies of Asiatic cholera, on the veranda of a heathen temple, exclaimed three times, "Glory to thee, O God!" and then fell asleep in Jesus.

VIII

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SCHWARTZ

WE will station ourselves for a moment in the heart of Germany at the middle of the 18th century. Frederick the Great, self-reliant, persistent, skeptical, with a penetrating genius, but without exalted ideas, is midway in his brilliant and checkered course. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) ended the eight years' War of the Austrian Succession and secured a breathing time before the seven years' War of the Spanish Succession. In the world of letters a new era is dawning—the birth epoch of a literature varied and rich. Klopstock, always more praised than read, has produced the first cantos of his *Messiah*. Lessing, with his strong German genius and language, is just coming upon the stage and will give impulse to the national mind, especially in the line of independent thought. The noble Gellert, of Leipzig, shows a classic ease and keen good sense, which delight the entire pub-
Germany, 1750.

lic, even peasants, one of whom leaves a cart-load of firewood at his door as an acknowledgment of what he has enjoyed in reading the poet's fables. Good-natured "Father Gleim" indicates the new tendency of utter frivolity. "From my earliest days," says he, "I have had a thought of writing a book like the Bible." The result was a treatise thoroughly commonplace and valueless on virtue. The philosophy of Leibnitz and Wolf is making inroads upon pietism, which has lost somewhat of its vitality and is, to a certain extent, growing narrow and censorious. Semler, who inaugurates a movement issuing speedily in rationalism, is called (1751) to Halle, and Michaelis, who contributes to the same result, is installed at Göttingen (1750). Emanuel Swedenborg occupies himself with what he is pleased to call revelations. English deism, previously introduced into France, has been transplanted into Germany and is yielding baleful fruits. The age is one of hollowness; few truly great men, few conspicuous men with noble motives, are anywhere to be found.

It was in 1750 that Christian Frederick Schwartz, better known to English and American readers than any other German missionary, one of the more eminent men of the eighteenth century, sailed for Tranquebar. He was born (October 26, 1726) at Sonnenburg in Prussia,

fifty miles east from Berlin—a place now decayed, but of note when the Knights of St. John made it one of their seats and held festivals there. Unlike the crusaders Schwartz and his townsman, Schultze, another able missionary, were true standard bearers of the cross in the East. Like many another missionary Schwartz had a pious mother, who died during his infancy, but who, just before decease, informed her husband and her pastor that she had dedicated this son to the Lord; and she obtained from them the pledge

Schwartz.

that he should be informed of this, should be trained accordingly, and, if he chose the sacred ministry, they would give him encouragement. The year of his entering the gymnasium at Küstrin (1740), whither his father accompanied him on foot, was the same with the accession of Frederick the Great, who, ten years before, had been a prisoner in this fortified town. A young lady¹ interested herself in his spiritual welfare, loaning him a work¹ by the celebrated August Hermann Francke, which made a deep impression on his mind and marked the turning point in his life. Among the lectures which he attended at the University of Halle were those of the professor just named (Francke). He was recommended to take lessons in Tamil, with a view to assist

¹ *Seegensvolle Fusstapen.*

Schultze, a returned missionary from Madras, in carrying Tamil works through the press for use in India.

Such is the immediate occasion of his thoughts being turned toward that part of the world. Provided his father's approval can be obtained he proposes to offer himself as a missionary. But great obstacles stand in the way. Christian Frederick being the eldest son is looked upon as the chief hope of the family, so that no one supposes parental consent can be had. With great seriousness the young candidate states his wishes and his motive. The father very suitably takes a few days to consider, mentioning the time when his decision will be made known. At the hour named he comes down from his chamber, gives his blessing, bids him go in God's name, forgetting native land and kindred that he may win souls to Christ. The mother's dedication is thus crowned with the father's benediction. Resigning his patrimony to younger members of the family he hastens back to Halle, and, though he receives within a few days the offer of an eligible situation in the ministry at home, having put his hand to the plow he will not look back. You recall the similar case of Horton, Brainerd, Hall, and many another.

The spiritual life of German churches has at this time evidently declined, yet a warm cur-

rent may still be traced and there are a few who sympathize with Schwartz. Some sweet singers of Israel there are to whom the promised glories of Messiah's kingdom do not seem visionary, and although hymnody has lost much of its freshness and power the deeply pious Tersteegen is in his advanced prime; so is Hiller, who composed more than a thousand hymns. That was the time when the first strictly missionary hymn appeared in the German language, under the title, "A prayer to the Lord to send faithful laborers into his harvest, that his Word may be spread over all the world." It was composed (1749) by Charles Henry von Bogatsky, author of the well-known *Golden Treasury*. The author states that it was written at a time when the Lord specially stirred him up to pray for the extension of his kingdom by means of devoted Christian workers.¹ The hymn is still a favorite at missionary meetings in Germany. It consists of fourteen stanzas and begins:

Wach auf, du Geist der ersten Zeugen.

"Awake, thou Spirit, who of old
Didst fire the watchmen of the Church's youth,
Who faced the foe, unshrinking, bold,
Who witnessed day and night the eternal truth;
Whose voices through the world are ringing still,
And bringing hosts to know and do thy will!"

¹ Kübler's *Historical Notes to Lyra Germanica*, p. 41.

With a song in his heart Schwartz goes on his way. Like his predecessors in the Germano-Danish mission he proceeds, in company with two other candidates, to Copenhagen for ordination (September, 1749). They take England in their way to India. While they were lying in Falmouth Harbor, where contrary winds detained them for a month (March, 1750), "an inhabitant of the town," so writes Schwartz, "came on board who had been powerfully awakened by Mr. Whitefield," which

Outset. suggests that a favorable change has begun in the religious condition of Great Britain compared with the time, half a century earlier, when the first two missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Plütschau, were on their way to India. This side the ocean in 1750 we see the Moravian Zeisberger also fastening his eye upon the Six Nations; three years since David Brainerd fell asleep in Jesus and his brother John succeeded him; John Sergeant, missionary among the Indians in Western Massachusetts, died one year ago (1749); and Jonathan Edwards, dismissed from Northampton the present season, will soon succeed him in the same work (1751).

When Schwartz reached India (July, 1750) it was in the midst of protracted struggles for ascendancy between the French and English.¹

¹ G. B. Malleison: *History of the French in India*. London, 1893.

Each sought alliance, now with one, now with another, native prince, till the strife carried desolation to many portions of the Carnatic. English power finally gains ascendancy. For the interests of the kingdom of God that result, in his good providence, bids fair to prove scarcely less important than the corresponding supremacy which the English instead of the French achieved at the same period on this Western Continent. It was in 1750 that Clive, who went out two years before as a writer in the employ of the East India Company, captured Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic.

The disturbed state of that country does not hinder our missionary from settling down quietly to his work at Tranquebar. He enters upon a field already cultivated to some extent. We revert for a moment to that earlier period at which our survey in the preceding lecture closed. The next year after Ziegenbalg's death three new col-
The Mission.
 leagues arrived, one of whom was Benjamin Schultze, an excellent linguist. He was somewhat familiar with the classics and with Hebrew, as well as various modern languages—the French, Spanish, Italian, Danish, and Dutch. True to the German linguistic instinct he soon mastered the Tamil and completed the translation of the Old Testament into that tongue, and the New Testament, as well as

portions of the Old, into Telugu. He was an ardent man, a hard-working man, mentally superior to his associates; and, as is apt to be true in such cases, he grew somewhat arbitrary and could not work comfortably with them. After laboring six years in and around Tranquebar he removed to Madras and passed into the employ of the English Society for Propagating the Gospel (1726). Seven hundred heathen and Roman Catholics were baptized by him.

Want of time forbids the rehearsal of all those names which appear in the list of reënforcements at various intervals, as well as detailed accounts of the operations of the mission. In 1740, a little more than thirty years from its beginning—perhaps at its maximum of success—it had indirectly, by offshoots, extended northward to the settlements of Cuddalore and Madras and toward the interior into the kingdom of Tanjore. A staff of ten European and about thirty native laborers, one of the latter ordained, were in the field, and between five and six thousand baptisms had taken place. By some it is estimated that at the time of Schwartz's arrival nine thousand nominal converts had been secured.

Within four months from his arrival at Tranquebar this young missionary, having the usual German facility for acquiring languages,

preaches his first sermon in Tamil. Besides keeping up his study of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures he masters the Tamil and Indo-Portuguese^{*} and comes to speak the Persian fluently—that being the tongue in use by one part of the Mohammedan population—also the Hindustani, the *lingua franca* of that country.

His theory—a sound one, and to which his practice corresponded—was that preaching should be the chief work of the missionary. True he early engaged in cate-
chising the schools, Tamil and Portuguese, and this may be called one branch and form of preaching. He did much in the way of establishing and maintaining schools, and, like Isaac Watts and some other eminent men who have remained unmarried, he was noticeably fond of children. Yet the more public oral promulgation of the gospel to adults was Schwartz's vocation. As Missionary.

In the year 1556 Martin Luther preached at Eisleben, his native place, from the closing verses of the eleventh chapter of Matthew's Gospel, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden." It was his last sermon and only three days before his death. Two hundred years afterwards Schwartz took up the same subject from the same words as the text

^{*} Note 35.

of his first Tamil sermon. What could be more appropriate for the venerable reformer of the sixteenth century or this youthful evangelist of the eighteenth? The cross, which can never fail to supply subject-matter and inspiration to the preacher, be his field what it may, Schwartz kept steadily in mind. Has not "Conquer by this!" sounded in the ear of every successful leader of the sacramental host, from the great apostle of the Gentiles to the last lay evangelist?¹ Wherever he went—by the wayside, in the choltry, in the shadow of Brahmanic temples, in the English camp, and at the court of the nabob—he was faithfully intent upon making known the gospel of salvation. Of this kind of labor, preëminently fitting, he performed more, perhaps, than any other man in the whole history of Danish missions.

Schwartz was not of ardent temperament; did not develop rapidly, but in a gradual growth. Ambition to shine in India or to win a reputation in Europe did not incite to premature or impatient demonstrations. The average man should be content to spend the first ten years of his professional life in laying wisely the foundations on which he may expect to build for the remainder of life. During his first decade in India our missionary

¹ Note 36.

was doing that. Associates did not predict his future. Mastering the vernaculars required in his work he also made himself familiar with the religious views, social condition, history, habits, and entire circle of mental associations of the people. Year after year he not only used but was qualifying himself the better to use God's Word as the key for opening a way into the hideous chambers of imagery in the native mind. His sphere of operation gradually enlarges. He visits Negapatam, one hundred and eighty miles southward from Madras. In response to an invitation from Ceylon (1760) he visits Jaffna—in which district the American Board has now for nearly four-score years had a mission—and proceeds to Colombo and to Point de Galle, the southern extremity of the island, "confirming the souls of the disciples." There was a five months' absence from his own field. Later he makes an excursion to Madura at the time of its siege and capture (1764), and where our American mission was established in 1834. He makes a tour to Palamcotta, three hundred miles from Madras, in the district of Tinnevely, the region of remarkable success at the present day on the part of the English Church Missionary Society. For the first twenty years of his life in India he usually walked when journeying. Accompanied

by another missionary he went in that way to Tanjore (1762), which place he often visited afterwards. It will be recollected that Tanjore is the native capital of Southern India, six miles in circumference—the Benares of the South—an ancient center of learning and religious influence. Within that little kingdom, now only a province, are temples unsurpassed in number and magnificence, and at that date there were a hundred thousand Brahmans living in voluptuous sloth. Forty miles from Tanjore up the River Caverry is the town of Trichinopoly. After the Christian Knowledge Society established a mission there (1767) Schwartz came under their patronage, and spent the remainder of his life chiefly at that place and at Tanjore. Purposing at first to remain only a few weeks he prolonged his stay for more than thirty years.

Although more than a third of a century has passed since my visit to that place it comes with great distinctness to recollection, and more

especially the Rock of Trichinopoly, an inland Gibraltar, looming abruptly from the plain—

isolated, bold, precipitous, three hundred feet in height, surmounted by a fortress and a pagoda. Lower down is a larger temple and the magazine. The ascent is by stone steps, and the view from the summit is one never to

be forgotten. Beneath you see the fort, the rajah's palace, and a population of eighty thousand souls; while stretching out in all directions lies an illimitable plain, fertile and populous. Two miles distant the river divides and forms the sacred island of Seringham, where stands a famous temple. Temples in India are numberless, and as a general thing are small. No seats are found in them nor any assemblage to receive instruction. As compared with such structures in middle and northern districts those in Southern India are on a grander scale and have more ample decorations. Remarkable as some of these are they are yet perhaps less wonderful than the rock temples.¹ This structure in Seringham has an outer wall four miles in extent, with a main entrance truly magnificent. Some of the stones built into the front are of a size equal to those in the foundations of Solomon's temple—thirty feet or more in length and five in thickness. Fourteen pyramidal towers rise to a great height around the inclosure. Inside are seven square inclosures, one within another—answering in number to the quadrangular courts which compose the

¹ John Dudley: *Naology*. London, 1846. M. W. Carr: *The Seven Pagodas of the Coromandel Coast*. Madras, 1809. James Fergusson: *Illustrations of the Rock-Cut Temples in India*. London, 1845. James Fergusson: *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. London, 1876.

heaven of Vishnu—each surrounded by a wall twenty-five feet high. One apartment, a hundred and fifty feet in length, has a flat stone roof, supported by a thousand pillars, no two of them alike—each pillar a single block of granite, elaborately carved and representing some legend in the history of the god to whom the temple is dedicated. Five thousand priests are there accommodated, and throngs of debased worshipers resorting thither correspond with the general scale of things. But for the Christian visitor a special interest attaches to Trichinopoly as the place where Schwartz labored faithfully and where the author of our favorite missionary hymn closed his pilgrimage. You are shown the bath in which, April 2, 1826, was found the lifeless body of Bishop Heber.

This part of the Carnatic was, in the course of the eighteenth century, the scene of repeated struggles between the English and French¹ and between English and native forces. It is inseparably associated with the name of a Mohammedan prince, Hyder Ali, the ablest enemy which England has met in India. As the missionary life of Schwartz fell within the period and in the vicinity of such fierce struggles he could not easily avoid certain offices which

¹ G. B. Malleon: *History of the French in India*. London, 1893.

were as exceptional as was the general condition of things. If Washington wisely advised our nation to avoid all entangling foreign alliances, much more is it needful that ambassadors of Christ should ordinarily keep aloof from political complications and from secular engagements which do not necessarily pertain to their high vocation. Those in the employ of the American Board are charged very strictly upon this point. To enter the service of any government sunders the connection of a missionary with that Board. Jesuit missionaries have everywhere engaged in political intrigues, often apparently advantageous to them at the outset, but always damaging at last. In the case of Schwartz there would seem to have been a clear propriety in his accepting certain outside engagements that were urged upon him and which the exigencies of the hour appeared to render imperative. He was solicited to act as medium of communication between the local English government and some of the native princes and even between a native prince and his own subjects. Intimate acquaintance with the vernacular languages and with the condition and customs of the country, a sense of gratitude to the East India Company for favors shown him, an opportunity to serve important interests auxiliary to his greater work, and an

As
Diplomatist.

opportunity to make known the truth where he could not otherwise have done it induced him, without suspending his sacred office, to undertake temporarily an additional service. "At the same time I resolved," he says—and a wise resolution it was—"I resolved to keep my hands undefiled from any presents, by which determination the Lord enabled me to abide—so that I have not accepted a single farthing save my traveling expenses." The natives are shrewd in judging of character. Hyder Ali was eminently sagacious, and any trace of a mercenary spirit would have been fatal to our missionary's influence. But with such manifest unselfishness and frank sincerity did he carry himself as to win fullest confidence. Afterwards the sanguinary Hyder, in the midst of a devastating career, gave orders to his army officers "to permit the venerable Padre Schwartz to pass unmolested and to show him respect and kindness, for he is a holy man and means no harm to my government." In the course of the war the fort of Tanjore was reduced to straits, provisions being insufficient even for the garrison, much less for a throng not belonging to the garrison. A powerful enemy was at hand. Grain enough might be found in the country, but no means of transportation. Outsiders, deceived and abused by government officials, had lost all confidence and

refused to render assistance. The rajah, whose orders and entreaties were alike ineffectual, at length said, "We all, you and I, have lost our credit; let us try whether the inhabitants will trust Mr. Schwartz." The missionary is accordingly empowered to make arrangements with the people. No time can be lost. The emaciated Sepoys are falling down from exhaustion and the streets are lined with the dead every morning.¹ Such, however, is the confidence of the country people in this man of God that, upon his mere promise to indemnify them, he obtains in the course of a day or two a thousand oxen and all needed supplies of grain. The fort is saved. The next year, under similar circumstances, the same thing occurs again. At another time, when the oppressed inhabitants suspended cultivation of the soil and left the region, no promises of the tyrannical rajah could recall them. Schwartz was solicited to assure them that at his intercession they should be treated kindly, whereupon seven thousand came back in one day. When he exhorts them to do their utmost they reply, "As you have showed kindness to us you shall not have reason to repent it; we intend to work day and night to show our regard for you."

In 1789 Tuljajee, failing of immediate de-

¹ Note 37.

scendants, adopted a relative (Serfogee¹), ten years of age, as his successor in the kingdom of Tanjore. Sending for Schwartz the rajah pointed to the child and said: "This is not my son, but yours; into your hand I deliver him." "I appoint you to be guardian; I intend to give him over to your care." The missionary, however, had the good sense promptly to decline such a charge, the rajah being near his end, though in the personal welfare and education of Serfogee Schwartz continued to exercise a lively interest and was recognized as guardian. Could there be more decisive proofs of the power of Christian character over Europeans and natives, peasants and princes alike? Ulfilas, missionary bishop among the Goths in the fourth century, went more than once as ambassador to Constantinople, yet his political services were less effective than those of our humble German missionary in India. The position of Schwartz in that regard is perhaps without parallel, and will probably never be repeated. Judson's place in an embassy to the Burman court was that of translator, not of negotiator. But outside services of such delicacy and responsibility should be eschewed. To be the counselor of kings, to be the confidential adviser of secular governments, must always prove a hazardous experience on the part of

¹*Sarbojee* it should read.

men who can never afford to compromise their high spiritual function.

At the outset of his missionary career Schwartz wrote, "If we should ever suffer ignominy and disgrace for the sake of Jesus we are unworthy of so great an honor." His meekness, like that of many another missionary, was put to the test by the tongue of slander, but in the end he shone all the brighter. Possessing administrative talent similar to that of John Wesley he had much primitive simplicity and self-control. Kohlhoff, who was associated with him for thirty-five years, testified that he had never seen him angry or indignant, except when servants of the Lord were acting inconsistently or timidly. Then he was on fire.

His chief mistake—the mistake, also, of some other German missionaries—was too much leniency regarding caste.¹ This institution is the most conspicuous and most remarkable feature of society in India. The native theory is that birth determines the matter, that caste is of divine appointment. It is sanctioned by the sacred books, and, being an affair of religion, takes firm hold of the

Caste.

¹ C. V. Harnaswamy: *Digest of the Castes of India*. Madras, 1837. B. A. Irving: *Theory and Practice of Caste*. London, 1853. Arthur J. Patterson: *Caste Considered*. London, 1861. Edward W. Hopkins: *Mutual Relations of the Four Castes*. Leipzig, 1881.

Hindu mind. With us and elsewhere differences of rank are determined by the course of events in human history. In India these differences are deemed to be original and constitutional. Our tribe of Flatheads, as well as Chinese parents, are responsible for the respective deformities of skull and feet. Not so with the castes of India, which exist, as the people believe, by predetermining creation. Accordingly no individual can rise from a lower to a higher, and those in the lower are not less tenacious of their clan condition than those above them. The superior have a haughty bearing; the inferior maintain abject servility. Love or fellowship between such is impracticable, and nothing can be more destructive of Christian brotherhood—nothing can more effectually neutralize the Golden Rule.

An iron rigidity binds the caste man. Let an incident illustrate. A high caste soldier having fainted and fallen the military surgeon ordered one of the Pariah attendants of the hospital to throw water on him. In consequence thereof none of his class would afterwards associate with him, because his rank had thus, though involuntarily, been forfeited. Hence he soon committed suicide.¹ This amazing scrupulosity has respect, for instance, to food. If President Grant or the Prince of Wales when

¹ *New India*, p. 157.

in India had touched the humblest and hungriest Hindu's boiled rice he would have thrown it away as unclean. Another occurrence will show how relentless caste can be. The Rev. Mr. Hoole relates that while dining one day at the mission house in Madras, a woman, much worn by hunger and fatigue, came opposite the door and lowered from her back a tall lad, who was reduced to a skeleton and unable to stand alone. Help was implored. The missionary at once ordered rice and curry to be taken from the table to them, but the woman rejected the food for herself and her famishing boy, because it was against the rule of her caste to eat anything cooked or touched by Europeans.¹

Schwartz remained single. It was with him a matter of principle in his circumstances, upon the ground suggested by the apostle Paul in the seventh chapter of First Corinthians, and he continued strongly in favor of celibacy on the part of missionaries during the earlier years of their life among

Celibacy.

the heathen. This suggests an embarrassing incident, which revealed the possibilities of indiscretion on the part of persons meddling with matrimonial affairs which do not concern them. A ship chaplain had been requested by a friend of the elder Kohlhoff, then a widower, to nego-

¹ Hoole, Elijah: *Madras, Mysore, and the South of India*. Second edition. London, 1844. P. 314.

tiate in Germany for some one to go out and complete his domestic establishment. The officious man announced that he had a commission from the missionaries indefinitely to procure wives for them. In consequence of these representations two young women sailed for Tranquebar, whom the chaplain had mentally designated to be companions for Kohlhoff and Schwartz, and that, too, although the latter never intimated a desire for such an arrangement, much less had authorized this matrimonial broker to act as his agent. The good man felt constrained to make the most solemn written asseveration that the proceeding was entirely without his sanction, and that even if the young woman in question were a suitable person—it was perfectly evident she was not—he could never depart from his avowed purpose and was free from all responsibility in the matter.

Schwartz experienced signal preservations. Once when rising he found a very poisonous snake on the spot where he had been lying. When the powder magazine blew up at Trichinopoly (1772) he was in imminent peril, but neither he nor any of his Christian community suffered injury. He had for the most part excellent health. He was a German oak in the land of palms.¹ Late in life he wrote:

¹ Heinrich von Mertz, in Piper's *Zeugen der Wahrheit*, IV, p. 669.

"Though I am now in the sixty-ninth year of my age I am still able to perform the ordinary functions of my office. Of sickness I know little or nothing." Marshall, the Roman Catholic reviler of Protestant missionaries, says of Schwartz, "What he lacked was precisely that treasure of which he never knew his need—the gift of divine faith and the mission which God has resolved to bestow only on his church."¹ God in his sovereign goodness imparted to him true Scriptural

Devotedness.

faith—clear, strong, and consistent—to an unusual degree, preserving him from the superstitions, ritualism, and gross errors of Romanism, and enabling him to witness a good confession to the end. The faithful man remained on the field without once revisiting his fatherland or the country which for many years had sustained him. He was earnestly industrious. During the first period of his life in India he held a Tamil service every Sabbath morning early, one in English at ten o'clock in the forenoon, besides a Bible exercise in the evening, followed by a prayer meeting. The secular portion of the week was fully occupied, so much so that he often found no time for study except in the night.

He loved his work. Toward the close of

¹ *Christian Missions*, I, p. 282.

life he exclaimed (1796): "Ebenezer, hitherto hath the Lord helped me! Today I entered upon my seventy-first year. O, the riches of his grace, compassion, and forbearance which I have experienced during seventy years! Praise, honor, and adoration are due to a gracious God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost for the numerous proofs of his abounding grace!" Happy, thrice happy old man!

The habits of our missionary, as might naturally be inferred, were simple and inexpensive. A small apartment and a dish of rice satisfied him, while no discernible elements of asceticism

appeared. With a truly self-denying spirit he acted as almoner and benefactor to all in times of bloodshed and famine; and we are reminded of the good deeds of our own Calhoun amidst the massacres of Mount Lebanon, the kind offices of our missionaries after the earthquake in Eastern Turkey a few years ago, their exhausting services in behalf of victims of Turkish cruelty in Bulgaria, as well as during famines in Asia Minor, India, and China. Yes, as a class missionaries are preëminently philanthropic, and nobly deny themselves out of regard to the name of their Master. Such a one was Schwartz. English residents in Southern India were fully convinced of this. At one time, owing to a general distress resulting from the

ravages of war, he forbore to draw from government his pay as chaplain. Repeatedly did he refuse pay tendered for special services. Starting on his return journey from Hyder Ali Schwartz found three hundred rupees in his vehicle, which he immediately set apart for purposes of charity. "Only let money be offered to any one," say the Brahmans, "and all his good resolutions vanish;" yet so convinced were even the natives of this man's complete integrity that when the Rajah of Tanjore sent for him to secure his mediation he said to Schwartz, "Padre, I have confidence in you, because you are indifferent to money;" and an English officer declares, in a published work on India,¹ "The intelligence and uprightness of this blameless missionary have rescued the European character from the imputation of universal corruption."

Schwartz lived seventy-two years, forty-eight of which were devoted to evangelistic labor in India. He took no part of that long period to visit Europe, nor for that purpose did Kierlander take any part of his fifty-nine years in India. The popular **Longevity.** impression has been that the climate of that country is not favorable to longevity among Europeans. So far, however, as German missionaries are concerned vital statistics present

¹ Colonel Fullerton, in his *Views of English Interest in India*.

a rare showing. Four of them (Hüttemann, Cnoll, Breithaupt, Gericke) were able to serve from thirty to forty years; six of them (Zeglin, Pohle, John, Klein, Cämmerer, Schwartz) from forty to fifty years; and five of them (Fabricius, J. B. Kohlhoff, J. C. Kohlhoff, Kiernander, Rottler) from fifty to sixty years. Of these the elder Kohlhoff reached seventy-nine years of age, Fabricius eighty,² Kohlhoff junior eighty-two, Rottler eighty-seven, and Kiernander eighty-eight. Among American missionaries in the same country Ballantine labored thirty years, Munger thirty-four, John Scudder thirty-six, Poor thirty-nine, Meigs forty-one, Winslow forty-four, and Spaulding fifty-three.

During the last year of life Schwartz's strength was evidently failing. Four months of suffering and of special grace were appointed him at the close. Favorite hymns

 were sung in his room, his own
Last Days. voice often joining. On the thirteenth of February (1798) native assistants sang the last stanza of Gerhardt's best-known hymn, *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*:

 "Be near me when I'm dying;
 O, show thy cross to me!
 And for my succor flying,
 Come, Lord, and set me free!"

¹ Grimfield's *Sketches of Danish Missions* everywhere gives this as Hüfferman (pp. 80-112).

² Note 38.

Serfogee, the rajah, visited him in his last sickness, manifesting the most tender regard. At the funeral the prince wept freely as he gazed upon the face of so revered a friend, and he afterwards erected a monument to "the memory of Father Schwartz," which was executed by the celebrated sculptor, Flaxman. On the monument the rajah is represented as grasping the hand of the dying missionary and receiving his benediction. The traveler will find it in the old garrison church, no longer used, at Tanjore.¹

But the most impressive monuments to our missionary are the results of his labor. At and near Trichinopoly alone were three thousand reputed converts gathered in through the agency of this faithful man. Bishop Heber estimates the number in the whole district at between six and seven thousand. It is a notable circumstance that while religious decline was going on in his native country—pastors and people not a few settling down into spiritual torpor, if not giving themselves over to avowed rationalism—this man in a far-off land of heathenism should be toiling indefatigably and successfully to the last, respected by his employers and employees, his colleagues and pupils, by Germans and Danes, by princes and Pariahs, by Christians, heathens, and Moham-

¹ Note 39.

medans. Seldom has there been an instance of a man securing the respect of parties so unlike—military officers and civilians in the English service, a sanguinary and suspicious Oriental tyrant, as well as that tyrant's outraged and timid subjects.

“They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever.” The same year that this devoted missionary finished his course a countryman of his, the astronomer royal of England, discovered four new satellites belonging to the Georgium Sidus. On the scale of celestial estimates whose fame will be most enduring—that of the titled Sir William Herschel or the plain Christian Frederick Schwartz?

IX

CRITIQUE UPON THE MISSION

OUR last chapter was devoted to Christian Frederick Schwartz, the representative German missionary, more widely known than any other of the eighteenth century and who ranks with Eliot, Brainerd, Zeisberger, and Carey. When the mission at Trichinopoly was established (1767) he passed, as before mentioned, into the employ of the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and his official connection with the Danish work and with Tranquebar ceased. It seemed, however, due to him and to the demands of general narrative that the survey of his life should not be arrested at that point.

The lines of demarcation between the several fields of evangelistic work in the peninsula and between the responsibilities of employees were not at that period well defined. At times only this is clear—that the relations of Christian laborers in Southern India to patrons in Europe

were vague and somewhat fluctuating. Most writers appear not to have kept in mind the exact sphere of the Danish mission; but, in treating the history of evangelistic work in the Madras Presidency, have spoken of the later services of men who had left the Tranquebar field as if they were still in their old connection. It is no unusual thing for biography to leave us with some historical misconceptions. The strictly Danish work in the southern peninsula was limited to Tranquebar and its immediate neighborhood. It continued about one hundred and forty years. In 1845 the Danish possession (Tranquebar) was ceded to the English East India Company, and the mission has now for a long time been conducted by the Dresden-Leipzig Society.

Relations
Vague.

The death of Schwartz marks an epoch in the course of Protestant missions in that part of India. Thence onward decay became more and more evident. After the date of his decease only five missionaries of the Danish society went to India. While at that period the religious condition of India was improving, such improvement had hardly begun in Germany, and as is Germany such substantially is Denmark. During the great spiritual decline of those countries it could not be expected that their missionaries

Decline.

would wholly escape the contagious torpor. As early as 1793 Christian Frederick John wrote home from Tranquebar, "A new honest missionary would be a great help to us, but if no suitable man can be found it is better for us to die out." The mission was not harmonious within itself¹ nor on pleasant terms with the local government. Denmark having become involved in the general European war then raging her East India possessions were exposed to attack. Tranquebar was captured by the English (1801), and remittances from home were interrupted. The restoration of the place a year later to Denmark did not restore prosperity to the mission. Various concurrent causes led to a continued abatement of evangelistic work, from which there was never more than a partial recovery.² The sentiment of Danish residents, some of whom had become infected with French infidelity, was, of course, adverse to attempts at converting the heathen. The local government proposed that the mission should cease as an institution for that purpose, and in 1825 a royal rescript, placing it on a new footing, ordained that the pastorate of Zion Church in Tranquebar and the office of first missionary be united. It will indicate to what a low level Danish sentiment

¹ Note 40.

² Note 41.

had sunk, that the order should contain a declaration such as this, "The spiritual pastors who bear the name 'missionary' in Tranquebar are to make effort for the conversion of the heathen only where the moral character of the persons seems to call for it, but they are not to expect any money to be spent on the extension of Christianity." What but extinction of all missionary work could be looked for where such views prevailed?

One sad experience of the Christian explorer is to find the tombstones of evangelical enterprises, whether on the site of the seven churches of Asia, of the once flourishing churches in Northern Africa, or of missions like that at Tranquebar. Deplorable decay

Decay
Lamentable. has been spoken of. May not an exaggerated impression have been made? The facts of the case,

as they lie on the surface, appear to admit of no other representation. Testimonies from without concur.¹ Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet, a deputation from the London Missionary Society, in their *Journal*² (1821-1829), say of Tanjore that no vital religion was to be found in any of the native priests and people; that the cankerworm of caste had destroyed everything that resembles true religion, only a form

¹ Note 42.

² Vol. II, pp. 462-464.

being left; and that the Tranquebar Mission was in the same sad condition. Ten years later (1837) Dr. Howard Malcolm, who visited the American Baptist missions in the East, though passing near Tranquebar, did not deem it worth while to stop—it being the current opinion of competent judges then in Southern India that there was almost no visible effect of missionary labor remaining there.¹ “As to Schwartz’s people in Tanjore,” says Lord Macaulay² (1834), “they are a perfect scandal to the religion they profess.” We do not account Thomas Babington Macaulay the most competent witness concerning the religious character of native Christians in India; yet, with a measure of exaggeration, not infrequent on his part, he reflects the average sentiment of English residents then on the ground.

It becomes a grave question, What led to such an apparent failure at last? So far as the particular responsibility of Schwartz is concerned it should be borne in mind that at the period last referred to he had been in his grave more than thirty years. It should also be remembered that in the earlier stages of the Tranquebar Mission there was much more evangelical earnestness and fidelity than in the later stages. Still from the first, as in the

¹ Malcolm’s *Travels*, II, pp. 60–62.

² *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, I, pp. 332, 333.

early Dutch missions, there was this mischievous mistake—that evidence of regeneration need not be required of those who were admitted to Christian ordinances; that these may be administered to persons who profess only a mental assent to the historical facts and the truths of Christianity, about which, however, candidates do not need to know very much. The notion was entertained that natives once baptized would be more likely to desire further Christian instruction and would sooner or later

become intelligent converts. In **Superficiality.** regard to the ordinances it was held that they have mystical efficacy for accomplishing spiritual results; hence that the church need not attempt to discriminate carefully between the mere nominal Christian and the one born again. Such a theory is sufficiently dangerous in well-educated Christian communities; how much more among an ignorant people, almost incapable of conceiving what pure spiritual religion is, and to whom temporal inducements are held out for the profession of Christianity! A majority of the converts were from inferior classes—mere outcasts and slaves. Almost universally aboriginal tribes and lower castes are the most hospitable toward the gospel, and those are the classes among which throughout India, to the present time, the gospel has had greatest success. Low castes and

outcasts furnish not less than four fifths of all converts.¹ Natives in such social position could hardly fail to look upon the acceptance of the faith and forms of their rulers as likely to prove advantageous in secular respects; hence the greatest caution was needed to guard against mercenary motives. But as temporal aid was afforded to converts there would naturally be awakened in the minds of persons looking on a suspicion that they were virtually bought, and the epithet "Shilling Christians" gained currency. Supplies ceasing, converts fell away. The missionaries were obliged to confess that many of the baptized failed to give evidence of any moral reformation.² The tour of Gericke, when he visited (1802) the districts lying south toward Cape Comorin—though not belonging himself to Tranquebar—illustrates the unwise readiness, especially of later German missionaries, to administer the rite of baptism. The people had been suffering much from political disturbances and were entertaining unwarranted hopes of amelioration from a change of religion. Accordingly whole villages demolished their idols, turned their temples into churches, and received baptism—scores upon scores in a day—at the tourist's hands. During that journey the good man,

¹ Note 43.

² Note 44.

zealous and credulous, baptized thirteen hundred, and immediately afterwards the native teachers baptized two thousand and seven hundred more. Most of them, however, had but little knowledge of what the Christian religion is, and had still less of its spirit. As in military invasions, so in missionary operations it is much easier to overrun than to hold a wide extent of territory. At Tranquebar converts were taught the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, together with the words of the institution of both sacraments, and many of them appear to have given unquestionable evidence of conversion. Some of them stood the test of persecution; while, on the other hand, too many seem never to have advanced beyond a mere outward rite. Our satisfaction, then, at statistical results suffers abatement when we read that by the first jubilee of this mission (1756) eleven thousand persons had embraced the gospel, and that at the close of a hundred years perhaps fifty thousand had received baptism. As a whole they bore a different character from more recent native Christians of Northern India, for instance, who, in the main, stood firm during the mutiny of 1857.

Another mistake of the Danish mission in India was an unauthorized toleration of caste among the converts. This subject was alluded to in our last lecture. We grant that it is

one of delicacy and difficulty, that something must be conceded to the inexperience of early missionaries. Yet even after thirty years' acquaintance with this evil the mission wrote, in regard to their useful and excellent catechist, Rajanaiken, "We should greatly hesitate to have the Lord's Supper administered by him, lest it should diminish the regard of Christians of a higher caste for that sacrament itself." It needs but a short acquaintance with such a bane of social life to learn its essential antagonism to the spirit of Christ.

Caste.

Surely an institution which teaches that one part of a community belongs to a superior race; that Pariahs are born to be slaves; that the two classes may not live in the same street, eat from the same vessel, drink from the same cup—even the sacramental cup—or occupy the same seats in the house of God; which forbids intermarriages between the two castes; which insists upon separate sections in the burial ground; which forbids a high caste congregation to receive a low caste religious teacher; and would persuade the missionary clergyman to partake of the sacred supper last, that none of the communicants might be contaminated—such an institution needs no long debate to determine whether it shall be tolerated in the Christian Church. By condoning this mischievous element nomi-

nal conversions were multiplied, but Christianity was dishonored. Dr. C. F. John, one of the later missionaries at Tranquebar, greatly distressed by this antichristian practice, determined to put an end to such odious distinctions—at least as relates to the Lord's Table and so far as his responsibility was concerned. He melted into one the two cups that were used, and thus for once settled that matter. The excellent Schwartz erred with others in regard to caste. If this demon had been exorcised at the outset the subsequent history of Southern India would have been materially different. At present the only German society known to wink at this deformity is the Lutheran Society of Leipzig, which is in sympathy with the High Church element in England. That society's agents have little fellowship with other missionaries and do not formally join in conferences. They are significantly exclusive, and often set territorial comity at defiance, introducing schools and catechists into fields long occupied by evangelical laborers. Liturgical and sacramentarian bodies seem somewhat generally to entertain the thought that it is their sphere, letting others undertake initial drudgery and hardships, to come in later and gather the fruits into their sectarian garner. Conservative of abuses, and carrying on a superficial system of proselytism, they render it

difficult for neighboring missions to maintain proper discipline in their churches. It should be added that native Roman Catholics also kept up an observance of caste as rigidly as the heathen. The Vaisya, with the gold ring, embroidered dress, and cashmere turban, puffed up with pride of birth, was invited to sit in the high places of the church; while the poor Christian Pariah was bidden to stand in the doorway, taking care that he should by no means touch with his unclean body the garments of his holy superior!¹

It was a further mistake that the mission did not ordain more native pastors. For many years there were none. The schools had been looked to as nurseries for the ministry, but therein they failed, and this is by no means a solitary instance of the kind. Catechists were to some extent supplied by the Tranquebar schools, yet very few natives came forward to whom the missionaries deemed it fitting to intrust the sacred office. Suitable men evidently were not numerous, and when permission to ordain natives was at length asked from the home authorities it could be obtained only after long delay. In the Tranquebar Mission proper only half a dozen—if so many—natives received ordination during a period of a century and a half.

Native
Pastorate.

¹ Mullen's *Missions in Southern India*, p. 77.

Not till towards half a century since was the importance of establishing local churches and a native pastorate duly appreciated among the various missions of India, but within the period named a noteworthy development in that direction has taken place. It began among the missions of the American Board (1855), and it marks an epoch in foreign evangelistic work. The results, as seen in the extent to which native Christians, and especially their preachers, rise from the condition of pupilage, acquiring strength and independence of character, are truly encouraging.

Disproportionate outlay upon schools was another mistake. The Germans are almost constitutionally educators, and the Lutheran Church is eminently an educating church. It was natural that these experimenting missionaries should early devote themselves to gathering schools.

Education. We find Ziegenbalg writing in 1706: "Truly the training up of children will be of the greatest consequence in this affair, if we were but able to purchase and maintain a good many of them." "We must buy such children, sometimes at a high price, from their parents."¹ His successors labored largely in the same line—not, indeed, of purchasing pupils, but of securing them at

¹Taylor's *Protestant Missions at Madras*. Introduction, pp. iv, v.

all events. They looked to this source for an effective Christian element, but the hope proved fallacious; and so it is always liable to do if the boarding school displaces an earnest oral publication of the gospel. When the missionary merges himself into the schoolmaster, when touring is wholly relinquished for the more comfortable routine of pedagogy—then aggression and spiritual advance, present and prospective alike, may be expected to suffer. Decline had proceeded far in this mission when Dr. John opened his school for Europeans instead of native Tamulians, and when (1824) the local government proposed that mission schools should cease altogether as an institution for securing converts and that missionaries should give themselves merely to inculcating useful knowledge.

It is almost a corollary that excessive interest was felt in matters of science. Quite possibly in our day, too, a disproportionate value may be placed on the incidental benefits of Christian missions; and missionaries may sometimes be beguiled into an undue expenditure of strength on the auxiliary studies of lexicography, mythology, and the like. Works have come from such pens so elaborate as to be read by heathen Hindus simply for the purpose of becoming better acquainted with their

Subordinate
Pursuits.

own systems. Rottler's collection in botany, John's collection in conchology, and Klein's collection in ornithology and entomology became famous. Eight learned societies in Europe elected these men members. In the year 1795 Messrs. John and Rottler received, as an acknowledgment of their high attainments and valuable contributions to natural history, the honorary degree of Doctor of Physical Sciences. When such side studies are carried on simply as a recreation it may be well; when they trench upon time and interest which should be consecrated to immediate Christian work their results are rather a reflection than an encomium on the missionary. If Paul had left behind him immortal treatises on the Greek language, poetry, and philosophy, or on Roman jurisprudence, would he not have been obliged to expunge passages from his inspired writings which the world cannot afford to lose, and which would be a greater loss than the loss of the most elaborate scientific works ever produced? "For I am determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified;" "Yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord."

The mission encountered great obstacles, some of them peculiar to itself, for which it was not responsible. These related in part to the period

and the country. For a considerable time there were disturbances and violence. One native prince after another would claim sovereignty over the region. Hyder Ali, with a hundred thousand men, sweeps down the Carnatic like a tornado, leaving ruin in his track. Every European war was attended by an Indian outbreak, just as an eruption of Etna is attended by simultaneous activity among volcanoes in the East. Now a French fleet, and now an English, appear off the coast. Missionary operations, as well as supplies from Europe, are impeded, sometimes suspended. Famine, that twin demon of war, makes its appearance. In 1782 such destitution prevailed in this small Danish territory alone that ten thousand perished. Numbers dying daily in the streets of Tranquebar were left to be buried at public expense. When the quiet pursuits of husbandry are interrupted, even in time of peace, any country like Southern India, where agriculture depends upon irrigation, will suffer from famine.

Political
Disorder.

Whenever the gospel takes effect among the heathen persecution usually ensues. It has been so from the first in Hindustan. It is so today, though now the consolidation of English power prevents, in some good measure, those more open and flagrant acts of cruelty once so common. If the missionaries were harassed by

their own government, what must have been the condition of converts under tyrannical native rule? Heathen authorities could not be relied upon to protect converts from the Roman Catholics. Ecclesiastics were sent with an express charge from the pope to "root out the Protestants from Tranquebar," and they were only too true to their commission. Take a specimen. Rajanaiken, a faithful catechist, who had been converted from the Romish faith, joined the evangelical church (1728),

but it cost the father his life. A **Persecution.** number of armed papists made an attack, and while the old man was endeavoring to defend his youngest son from the murderers he himself sank under their blows and died two hours afterwards. His other sons exposed the corpse at the gate of the town, hoping to attract attention, but they had no money to give; hence could obtain no justice. The assassins afterwards confessed that they acted upon the instigation of priests, who offered a reward in heaven to all who should merit it by exterminating these heretics. Repeated attempts were made upon the life of Rajanaiken. His wife once threw herself between him and a drawn sword. At two different times the Romanists beat this catechist till they left him for dead upon the road. Beschi, the Jesuit, was known to instigate such

outrages.¹ Speaking of a catechist in his day whom persecutors had beaten to a senseless condition Schwartz remarked, "They are of their father, the devil, and the pope."

Another class of embarrassments had respect to home administration. The difficulty was inherent. This Danish mission, composed chiefly of German laborers, received much pecuniary aid and considerable advice from England. The superintendence was nominally at Copenhagen, really at Halle; while funds came from Denmark, Sweden, Germany, and England. Relations so diverse and

Diversities.

complicated could hardly fail to cause perplexity. Harmony all around would have been well-nigh a miracle. The reports from Tranquebar were published at Halle—Copenhagen publishing nothing originally, being content to receive information through that channel. Almost all depends upon the man, not upon the home administration, however it may be composed. Two of the more able and successful missionaries of this period (Schwartz and Gericke) were in no very intimate executive relations to any body of men in Europe.

Differences in religious sentiment and differences of national feeling existed among the missionaries. The pietism of Saxony never

¹ Even Pope Benedict XIV pronounced the Jesuit fathers *inobedientes, contumaces, captiosi, et perditii homines*.

gained any wide acceptance in Denmark; yet a majority of the missionaries, the earlier ones especially, were Halle students, and, happily, bore the impress of that institution—a circumstance, however, which did not conciliate Danish sympathy. By the close of the century more than fifty missionaries had gone out. The predominance of German blood and the German language among them served to create embarrassments. It was nothing strange that the Danish element should find occasion for criticism. In our day it is sometimes the case that persons of diverse training and social habits fail to work harmoniously in the same mission.

Royal patronage, though at the time and under the circumstances deemed to be of great importance, was hardly a help on the whole. In that age the traditional idea prevailed that everything great and good must, to be successful, have the support of government. The present facility of organizing did not exist; indeed, it had hardly dawned upon the minds of men that for many purposes private persons have a perfect right to associate, and that they can accomplish their objects better in the absence of endowment and interference of every kind from civil powers. Now throughout the civilized world the drift—here and there amount-

State
Relations.

ing to a struggle—is to secure a free church in a free state. King Frederick meant well, but the missionaries were led to expect too much from royal orders. Mandates from the home government had but little influence in rectifying abuses at Tranquebar. Rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, men must beware of expecting from Cæsar what can come only from God.

One embarrassment which the missionaries met with was peculiarly trying—the pernicious influence of many European residents who bore the name of Christians. This is an obstacle which in every part of the world, more especially at the great emporiums of trade and wherever European commerce or arms extend, has been encountered. Throughout the maritime regions of the East Indies and the island groups of the Pacific,

Nominal
Christians.

other things equal, Christian work has been successful in the ratio of distance from European and American nominal Christians. If in the early days of New England, with a ruling sentiment so strongly in favor of pure religion and sound morality, John Eliot found occasion to complain of the evil influences exerted upon the Indians by unprincipled men, how much more urgent must be the occasion where no restraints of public opinion or of law exist. It is notorious that the morals of Portuguese,

Dutch, Danes, and English in the East have largely been a reproach to the Christian name.¹ Though calling themselves Christians they are such, not by holding the distinctive doctrines of our religion, but because in the general census of the world they are not classed as Jews, Mohammedans, or idolaters. Englishmen were then wont to say that they left their religion at the Cape of Good Hope on the way out, which they could pick up on the way back to Europe. What religion those men had was not likely to enrich South Africa in the meantime. Sir Monier Williams remarks, "I doubt, however, whether the worst Indians are ever so offensive in their vices as the worst type of low, unprincipled Europeans."² When a certain European, who had been a terror and a disgrace to a district in Southern India, died the natives habitually offered brandy and cigars at his tomb to propitiate his spirit, which was supposed to be still wandering about with bad intentions.³ It is not yet a century since Captain William Bruce wrote to Southey that if our empire in India were overthrown the only monuments that would remain of us would be broken bottles and corks. Schwartz declares that in his earlier acquaintance with India he

¹ Note 45.

² *Modern India*, p. 128.

³ *Modern India*, p. 136.

sought in vain for a pious European. Later missionaries have sometimes confessed to much the same.¹ There was not a precept of their own religion which the natives did not observe, nor a precept of Christianity which some Europeans did not disregard. What could the honest servants of Christ do in the midst of such harassing retorts as were made by the Hindus? "When I was once talking to them," writes Ziegenbalg, "and seemed to have reached their consciences, they answered me, 'If you Christians, with your eating and drinking, your fornication and adultery, your cursing and swearing, and your wicked lives, expect to be saved, surely we, with our quiet, orderly lives, may hope for it also, even if our religion be false and altogether a fabrication.'"

Failures on the score of Christian character occurred among missionaries themselves. At Tranquebar, of about half a hundred men,² there were several who made shipwreck.³ Perversions even to heathen beliefs have occurred. Colonel Vans Kenneday, for instance, an Oriental scholar, was understood by the Hindus to have become a believer in their religion. Strange as it may seem, one of the earliest converts secured by Rammohun Roy was an

¹ Arthur's *Missions to Mysore*, p. 65.

² From 1706 to 1819, fifty-four.

³ Note 46.

English missionary sent out by the Baptist Society.¹

One dark spot in the history of every church which has organic connection with the state is the inevitable absence of discipline. Nothing but a sense of historical justice could reconcile us to direct the eye to such blots as have now been mentioned. It is hardly necessary, and yet very gratifying, to add that in later years there has been a great improvement; that the riotous living and gross vices of earlier times have been largely corrected; that, whereas authorities, civil and military, formerly to no inconsiderable extent patronized idolatry, there have been and are now men of high positions who maintain a decidedly Christian character and second Christian endeavors. Both hither India and farther India furnish noble illustrations. The names of Robert N. Cust, LL.D.; of Brigadier Parsons and Brigadier Nicholson; of Major General Sir Herbert Edwardes, General Sir Henry Havelock, General Sir Henry Lawrence, and General Sir Robert Phayre; of Sir Robert Grant and Sir Bartle Frere, governor of Bombay; of Lord Lawrence and Lord Northbrook,

¹James Vaughan: *The Trident, the Crescent, and the Cross*. London, 1876. Pp. 209, 210. "Which is only a little less remarkable than the fact that an unlettered Zulu should be able to shake the faith of an English prelate! Doubtless the same reason will stand good in either case—the faith thus shaken was very *shaky* to begin with."

governors general of India, are to be mentioned with special honor.¹

But there were direct results which it is cheering to contemplate. Of the missionaries sent out to India during all this long period only twenty-four labored exclusively at Tranquebar. Many thousands, as we have seen, were admitted to the church. What proportion of these were truly converted it is, of course, impossible to say, but probably a large number. Among more immediate results should be named the rise of other stations or missions, north, west, and south—at Cuddalore (1737), at Madras (1726), at Trichinopoly and Tanjore (1767), at Negapatam (1732), at Palamcottah (1785), also an unsuccessful attempt on the Nicobar Islands (1756). Tranquebar became the mother of missions, which, however, in their infancy were adopted by the English Christian Knowledge Society, some of them never having properly a distinctive Danish existence.² Chiefly to the influence of this mission must be ascribed the cessation of slavery among the Danes, which was effected in 1745. The press also, through the Bible and other treasures in Christian literature, exerted a sensible influence in purifying and elevating a portion of the

Results
Direct.

¹ Note 47.

² Note 48.



native community. Books from this source—then the solitary Protestant source—found their way to Ceylon, to Bombay, and to the northern Circars. Today there are numerous presses in India. Books and tracts are furnished in more than thirty languages and dialects; while thousands of copies of God's Word are issued annually, the aggregate of portions or the whole volume of Sacred Scriptures amounting already to millions. The Tranquebar stock decayed and lost nearly all its vitality, yet it lives in offshoots, as branches from the banyan may thrive though the original trunk be dead.

There were incidental results of considerable moment. The reacting influence at home of any mission is to be regarded as second in importance only to what it accomplishes in the foreign field. Denmark herself derived but little benefit comparatively from this evangelistic operation. And no wonder! The enterprise was almost purely an affair of the Danish court, not of the Danish people. Whatever the crown is known to favor will, as a matter of fashion, have a certain amount of consideration; but this work among the heathen never took hold of the hearts of the people. It was a royal undertaking, for which another nationality had to be subsidized at the outset, and in the

**Reflex
Results.**

service of which no Dane ever became prominent. Danish missionaries were unwilling to engage for a life service, and demanded, after a few years in Tranquebar, some lucrative situation at home.¹ The missionary college was rather a bureau of the civil government than an affair of the church. Neither the court nor the community at home was ever very much moved by this enterprise. One can hardly help calling to mind the fact that in the Baltic Sea the water has comparatively a small proportion of salt and that there is almost no flux or reflux. Except now and then a ripple of detraction, indifference seems to have prevailed. Dr. Lütken retained the superintendence while he lived, but upon his decease the Bishop of Zealand would have nothing to do with it, and an occasional pamphlet appeared reflecting upon the enterprise or upon the agents employed in it. Only an inconsiderable benefit from foreign missions can accrue, in the way of reaction, to any church or community which does not study the subject, feel the responsibility, and have at least a large share in furnishing missionaries and their supplies.

The reacting influence of the mission in Germany was more apparent and proportionately more valuable. True, from the first there were those in the universities and elsewhere who

¹ Germann: *Missionar Schwartz*, p. 184.

derided the enterprise and showed the bitterness of a most unchristian prejudice.¹ Still, reports of the good work were widely read, and the missionary spirit then centering in Halle never wholly died out in Germany, though it approached the point of extinction. But for these smoldering embers there might have been no such rekindling as has been witnessed within the last three quarters of a century.

England, too, shared happily in the indirect benefits. As we have seen, some of the early missionaries hailing from Denmark visited London on their way out and were kindly received; abstracts of the Tranquebar correspondence were issued from the English press; dignitaries of the English Church—notably Archdeacon Wake—manifested a laudable interest. From the Reformation onward there has been a measure of religious sympathy between Germany and England. About the middle of the 18th century Frederick the Great was courting the alliance of England—an alliance which became popular. The House of Brunswick having come to the English throne, a mission so largely German might be expected on that account to receive all the more consideration. Ziegenbalg wrote to George I, and the king sent two letters to the mission. The Christian

¹ Note 49.

Knowledge Society made a special arrangement for receiving funds in aid of the good work, manifesting a persistent interest in the evangelization of India. Contributions of money, books, and paper were sent out, as well as the press previously mentioned. The greatly revived interest in the evangelization of India and other heathen lands which sprang up in England at the close of the eighteenth century was partly a result of Danish and German labors in the southern peninsula.

Time was when Danes levied tribute on the English; when they restrained all English shipping from trade in Norway, save at one port (1429); and when, in the tenth century, three archbishops of Danish family presided over the English Church. But we have now seen English ships conveying Danish missionaries and English patronage helping to keep alive a Danish movement—one of the pioneer Christian enterprises of modern times. The Head of the Church appears to have accepted this Christian kindness, and to have treated it as the grain of mustard seed which was to grow into the wide-branching tree of present British missions among the heathen.

One incidental result remains to be noticed—that of spiritual benefit to European residents in the East. Many of them, both in the civil and military service, have been greatly

blessed in their religious life by the public services and private intercourse of missionaries.¹ The Scottish widow has rejoiced over a transformed prodigal: "He was dead, but is alive again; he was lost, but is found."² "I was born," said one, "and reared in Britain, a land of light, where I lived in darkness. In Ceylon, a land of darkness, I have been made partaker of the light of life." Others not a few can say the same concerning those heathen lands where faithful missionaries are found, and they

in turn become Christian workers.

Resident
Europeans.

One of the most useful assistant Wesleyan missionaries in the island of Ceylon came to a knowledge of the truth through the instrumentality of a pious soldier, who was himself the fruit of missionary labor on that island. Native soldiers have sometimes become Christian converts, although time was when that brought down oppression from the government of India as severe as it would from heathen sources. For example, there was a well-known case at Meerut of such a man in the ranks who, on being brought before a military court, was reported as a dangerous character and removed from the regiment. Schwartz once declined to receive the legacy which a grateful English convert had left him lest his

¹ Pearson's *Memoir of Schwartz*, pp. 73, 91, 106, 111.

² William Campbell: *British India*. London, 1839. P. 176.

motives should be impeached. Colonel Bie, the governor at Serampore, had enjoyed the instruction and religious influence of Schwartz, and was thus prepared to shelter missionaries whom the East India Company were so reluctant to see in Bengal. It was to William Chambers—who had been brought to Christ through the instrumentality of Schwartz—on removing to Calcutta that Charles Grant owed his conversion, and Charles Grant was the first man connected with the government who became an advocate in England for the mental and religious improvement of natives in India. It is a gratifying circumstance that Lieutenant Wade, an aid to the commander in chief at Bombay, and who assisted our first missionaries there, attributed his conversion to them.

A scene witnessed from the housetop of one of our missionary stations in India comes to my recollection with great distinctness. An officer of the English Army on his way from the interior to the seacoast stopped for an hour or two to pay his respects to one of our missionary staff. More elegance of person or courtliness of manners than those of that English colonel are seldom met with. The American Board has perhaps never sent out a man of such elephantine figure and movement as the missionary referred to. When the moment of leave-taking came I happened to be looking

down from the flat roof of the house, and never did a loving Timothy shed tears more profusely or greet "Paul the aged" with a "holy kiss" more ardent than were bestowed by the once proud Englishman on that rough American, his spiritual father.

X

HANS EGEDE.

AND now from tropical to arctic regions. Even the extreme north has its fascination. The barriers which surround it and the mysteries which hang over it, so far from deterring, only stimulate one class of adventurers. Since the time of Columbus more skill and intrepidity have been displayed in arctic exploration than perhaps in all other exploring expeditions combined. The hope of discovering a northwest or a northeast passage, and of thus opening a shorter way to the Indies, has for nearly four hundred years moved different governments to engage in this line of search. Learned societies have lent their aid, while for many of those who personally embark there is a charm in the very magnitude of difficulties. The secrets of that inclement polar world appeal to the heroic in noble natures. The men most likely to volunteer for a new expedition are

Arctic Regions.

men who have already experienced northern rigors. The fact that more than a hundred and thirty expeditions have proved failures, or that a passage if found would be of small practical value, does not check renewed attempts; nor will Captain Nares' report of a steady temperature at sixty degrees below zero and of common ice one hundred and fifty feet thick deter adventure while there remains so broad a tract which man has never visited. Look in upon Captain Parry, braving the extreme polar cold for two years on Melville Island; read Kane's narrative of his explorations or the narrative of Greeley's expedition, and say if these can be surpassed by any record of human endurance.

Beyond the arctic circle one finds himself where there are only two seasons to the year, one of light and one of darkness—a day of eight months and a night of four months, a night, however, that is relieved by brilliant auroras. And what shall we say of the cold? Explorers have found that no later than the first of October and no higher than latitude seventy-five strong drinks turn to ice and burst the vessels, and that even spirits of wine thicken and become like congealed oil. When one boils water it often first freezes over the fire till heat gains the mastery.¹ Be-

¹ Cranz's *History of Greenland*, p. 43.

fore ice begins to form along the coast the sea smokes and produces a mist called frost-smoke, which has the effect of blistering the skin. Quite superfluous is it to say that even in the more favored southern portions of Greenland vegetation is scanty and stunted. The tallest trees are but eighteen feet high.¹ Of forests there are none.

Why has the Creator so disposed physical forces as to produce such a region? Why attach such a crystal pendant to the extreme frozen north, a polar trinacria, mere clusters of barren rocks swathed with eternal ice, scarcely accessible on its eastern coast, and on its western presenting a rampart that frowns upon all approach? "Whatsoever the Lord pleaseth that did he in heaven and in earth, in the seas and in all deep places." The same sovereign will that would have Europe without a desert would have Greenland the one that is only a desert. The sunny south may not say to arctic regions, "I have no need of you;" nor does it behoove the one third land surface of our globe to wonder at the two thirds water surface. The law of differences reigns everywhere, and is indispensable in the great economy of nature. Owing to diversities of temperature oceanic currents keep

¹ Note 50.

polar and tropical waters in a constant interchange, preserving their purity and softening what would otherwise be destructive extremes. The divine Architect has ordained an immense stretch of ice as a beneficent refrigerator for other latitudes.

Early in the 18th century the germ of a new settlement and of a new Christian movement came into being. That germ was a thought in the mind of Hans Egede. The persistence of benevolent purpose displayed by him in finding his way to Greenland and remaining there in the face of appalling discouragements entitles his history to some measure of detail. He

Hans Egede. was a Norwegian, born 1686, and having studied for the sacred office at Copenhagen was ordained pastor of a church in Vaagen,¹ on the western coast of Norway, 1707, the year after Ziegenbalg and Plütschau reached Tranquebar. He had read old chronicles relating to his countrymen in Greenland, and after a twelvemonth of pastoral labor the thought occurred to him that something should be done to ascertain their condition and to reclaim them if, as he feared, they might have relapsed into heathenism.

Before the close of the seventeenth century

¹ Various readings: Vaage, Vagen, Vogen, Waagen, Wagen, etc.

three kings had successively entertained the purpose of sending out ships to reopen communication with the lost colony; success was reserved for this lonely Protestant pastor. The geographical position of Norway favored the turn which his thoughts were taking. Its northern extremity reaches within the polar circle, and its lofty mountain peaks confront the Arctic Sea. You have only to strip that rugged country of its tall pines and push it up farther toward the pole to obtain a repetition of Greenland. Indeed, Egede's parish lay in a latitude somewhat higher than Cape Farewell. Mere curiosity, as he imagines, leads him to make inquiries of Bergen shipmasters who are engaged in the whale fishery. Musing on the condition of supposed forlorn Northmen, descendants of his own Norwegian forefathers, from whom nothing has been heard for a long while, he begins to entertain the idea of doing something for them. At first such an endeavor seems impracticable. A home field of labor has been given him; he has a wife and children. Vividly do the sufferings and perils of an undertaking like the one which occurs to him stand out to view, and he endeavors to banish the subject. Egede has not yet come distinctly to the consciousness that God is calling him. The Danish mission to Tranquebar had its origin in a crowned head; the Danish

mission to Greenland springs from the Christian heart of an obscure pastor.

Brooding over the matter he at length draws up a memorial, setting forth Scripture promises concerning the conversion of the heathen, the command of Christ, the example of many pious and learned men, and forwards it to Bishop Krog, of Drontheim, and Bishop Randulf, of Bergen, with a petition asking them to use influence at court in favor of a project for Christianizing the Greenlanders. That was (1710) just one hundred years before Judson

and the three Samuels—Samuel
Providential
Leadings. Newell, Samuel Nott, and Samuel Mills—memorialized the Gen-

eral Association of Massachusetts regarding a mission among the heathen. The next year a favorable answer comes from Bishop Krog, commending Egede's pious intention and giving encouragement of assistance. The bishop's geography is, to be sure, somewhat at fault, for he remarks that Greenland is in the neighborhood of Cuba, where Spanish and other colonists found gold, of which a supply might be obtained.¹

Hitherto Egede has kept the matter chiefly in his own breast, but through this correspondence the project becomes known to his

¹ Note 51.

friends, who raise vehement opposition. His wife,¹ mother, and mother-in-law do their utmost to divert his mind from what appears to them a preposterous enterprise. Yielding for a time to their tears and remonstrances Egede tries to persuade himself that he has labored under a delusion, but the words of our Saviour, "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me," stir up a new conflict of feeling. He has no rest in spirit day nor night. Local vexations arise at Vaagen which at length reconcile his wife to leaving the place, and this he regards as providentially opening the way. It is suggested that these embarrassments may have been sent on account of their reluctance to give up all for Christ. The wife carries this subject to God in prayer, and becomes convinced that she is called to embark with her husband in the good work. Egede addresses a memorial to the College or Board of Missions, which Frederick IV had established (1714) at Copenhagen, who urged the Bishops of Bergen and Drontheim to second Egede's request. They, however, counseled delay till more favorable times. Postponements continued, and hence in 1715 he drew up a vindication. It was entitled, "A Scriptural and Rational Solution and Explanation, with

¹ *Née* Gertrude Rask

regard to the objections and impediments raised against the design of converting the heathenish Greenlanders." An unappreciative world still urged the dangers of the voyage, the severity of the climate, the madness of exchanging a certain for an uncertain livelihood, and of exposing wife and children to such perils, and finally they resorted to defamation, charging him with selfish motives. Egede was a popular preacher, and members of other congregations flocked to hear him. A neighboring pastor imputed to him the fault of empty seats, and hence became a detractor.

Restive under prolonged delays he resolves to visit headquarters that he may the better prosecute his undertaking. He proposes to resign his office on condition that his successor shall pay an annual pension till he himself is provided for in Greenland or elsewhere, but

Persistence. no one will accept the benefice thus hampered. At length (1718) he resigns unconditionally. Hans Egede is the only pastor known to history who spent ten years in unavailing endeavors to gain access to a mission field and at length surrendered his charge, still uncertain whether he would be able to secure coöperation or reach the desired place. Just then comes a rumor that a vessel from Bergen has been wrecked on the coast of

Greenland, and that the crew were devoured by cannibals. But this frightful tale does not deter the good man and his wife. She was already being disciplined into a Christian heroine, and with their four children they move to Bergen, still determined to find a way to disparaged Greenland.

At Bergen Egede meets with the usual experience of pioneers in Christian benevolence; he is looked upon as a fanatic for abandoning a comfortable home and starting out upon such knight-errantry of benevolence. It becomes necessary to give up the expectation of awakening sufficient interest to effect his object independently of secular inducements. The Greenland trade from Bergen had been ruined by the competition of other nations, and those to whom he looks for coöperation are not prepared for any venture in that line, especially so long as the war then existing with Sweden lasts. Was it outside the designs of Providence that precisely at that juncture (1718) the erratic career of Charles XII of Sweden, who had been at war with Denmark, should suddenly come to an end and peace ensue? Egede hastens to Copenhagen. He presents to the College of Missions his memorial, with proposals in which the fact of an existing mission to Tranquebar is pleaded in behalf of one to Greenland. He obtains a

favorable answer and also an interview with His Majesty Frederick IV, who listens to his proposal. "Seest thou a man diligent in business? He shall stand before kings."

Success, however, is not yet assured. A royal order (November 17, 1719) transmitted to Bergen requires a magistrate to collect the opinions of commercial men who have been in Davis' Strait regarding traffic with Greenland and the feasibility of planting a colony there. But no one seems favorably disposed, and Egede's scheme again becomes a mockery. He endeavors to make interest privately with individuals, and meets with some success; but the tide turning once more fresh derision is his lot. Under obloquy and disappointment another year wears away. His heart, however, does not fail. The Macedonian cry has been wafted to his ear by polar winds. It is somebody's business—it is Hans Egede's business—to become the apostle of Greenland; otherwise would "all the ends of the earth see the salvation of God?"

At last a few are touched by his zeal, so indefatigable despite repulses and mockeries. A capital of two thousand pounds sterling is subscribed; the king sends a present of forty pounds for the equipment, appoints him pastor of the new colony and missionary to the heathen, with a salary of sixty pounds per

annum. A ship called Haabet ("The Hope")—the Mayflower of that enterprise—is purchased, Egede himself subscribing three hundred dollars. Another is fitted out for the whale fishery, and a third to bring back word from the colony. May 12, 1721, one hundred years after the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, Egede, with his wife and four children, embarks. He leads an expedition numbering about forty souls.

Encourage-
ment Tardy.

Thirteen years had he been meditating and praying over the enterprise, and ten years had he toiled for the opportunity to embark on this forlorn hope. We are reminded of the most illustrious of navigators. Not till after many years of poverty and repulses, of distrust and suspected lunacy, did Columbus find a happy juncture. The fall of Grenada left the Spanish court at leisure to listen. Ferdinand's mandate to the authorities and people of Palos was treated much as Bergen treated that of Frederick. But a lofty enthusiasm sustained the great Italian explorer till, in spite of mutiny and manifold discouragements, he conducted his three caravels to Hispaniola.

Details of the perilous voyage to Greenland need not be given. One of the three vessels, the whaler, parted company from the others, came near foundering in a squall, and was

driven back to the coast of Norway. July 3, 1721, the remainder of the party landed on the western coast, in latitude sixty-four, at Ball's River, the largest stream of Greenland. In the estuary of that river are numerous small islands, and on one of them, named for their ship, Hope Island,¹ they built a house of stone and earth, which they entered after a sermon on Psalm cxvii: "O praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise him, all ye people. For his merciful kindness is great toward us: and the truth of the Lord endureth forever. Praise ye the Lord."

Egede's expectations regarding the people of the country, called Skroellings ("chips" or "parings"), were disappointed—a mistake no greater than that of Columbus, who sailed, as he supposed, for Cepango (Japan), and who died in the belief that he had discovered the East Indies.² Ruins of ancient Norwegian villages and even churches were found by Egede. But the Greenlanders then on the ground were neither Northmen nor descendants of Northmen; they were Eskimos. Finding their social and moral condition extremely low, and their language wholly different from any other with

¹ Called by the natives Kangek.

² In 1614 Baffin sailed under instructions to press to the north, then to steer westerly, by which course it was hoped he might "bear down upon Japan."

which he had acquaintance, our missionary was met, but not daunted, by obstacles the most disheartening. A man of genuine faith and Christian heroism, his spirit rose to the occasion. He had come to Greenland as a missionary, and here was a people evidently heathen. The vernacular must be mastered. Learning at length *Greenlanders.* the significance of one word, *Kina*, "What is this?" he used it with all diligence and so obtained a vocabulary. A member of his party was detailed to live for a time amongst the natives in order to catch their speech. Paul, the eldest son of Egede, made good progress, and rendered service by his pencil in rudely sketching Bible scenes which his father endeavored by words to set before the mind of natives. Acquisition, however, was necessarily slow, and slower yet all instruction of the Eskimos. Youths who for a little while were willing to learn at the rate of a fishhook for a letter soon grew weary, saying they could see no use in looking all day at a piece of paper and crying, A, B, C; that the missionary and the factor were worthless people, doing nothing but scrawl in a book with a feather; that the Greenlanders were brave; they could hunt and kill birds. Indeed, their own name for themselves is *Innuvit*, "the men." As with all rude people their conceit was unbounded.

Highest commendation of a European they would express by saying, "He is almost as well behaved as we are; he is beginning to be a man."

Egede, being secular head of the colony as well as its minister and a missionary to the heathen, felt obliged to make explorations in order to find some source of remunerative pecuniary returns. He had to combat depression among the colonists, whose privations

Discourage-
ments.

were great and whose profits next to nothing. For provisions they were compelled to depend upon the mother country. These being inconstant and insufficient they were sometimes on the verge of starvation. True the king granted a lottery for their benefit, but it proved a failure. He levied a tax on the kingdom of Denmark and Norway, called the "Greenland Assessment," yet remittances were irregular and insufficient.

Was it strange that under the influence of such a climate and under discouragements such as perhaps no other missionary ever encountered Egede should begin to waver in his purpose of remaining, especially as others had resolved to quit the intolerable region? But Gertrude, his wife (noble woman!), would not listen to the thought. She would render no assistance in packing up, and his courage ral-

lied. During their multiplied perplexities she maintained cheerfulness, under all burdens keeping up her fortitude and faith. "Our Lord called us away," she said, "from our country and our father's house to come hither, and he will never fail us." She was indefatigable in her kindness to the natives, especially in times of sickness. She belongs to a group of early missionaries' companions—Harrriet Newell, Ann Haseltine Judson, and others—who have reflected so much honor upon their sex and upon the cause of Christian philanthropy. With a true womanly fortitude she endures the repulsiveness of her surroundings, the intensity of northern frosts, and the intrusion of wild beasts. Once a huge and hungry polar bear breaks into the house, but into his eyes and open mouth she dashes a kettle of boiling gruel, and bruin retreats.

The merchants of Bergen who had taken stock in this colonizing enterprise became disheartened and the company disbanded (1727). Three years later King Frederick died, and his successor, seeing no likelihood of reimbursement from the Greenland trade for sums already expended, issued an order (1731) that all the colonists should return home. It was made optional with Egede to leave with the rest or to stay with such, if any, who of their own accord would remain. Provisions

were allowed for one year, but it was announced expressly that he could expect no further assistance. Now after ten years of such hardship, vexations, and want of success, religious as well as temporal, could any man be expected to tarry, especially in view of such a royal mandate? There was good reason to believe that he would be abandoned by the government and little reason to suppose that private funds would afford relief. Our missionary and his wife resolved to stay. A handful of other colonists stayed with them.

Perseverance. His two colleagues went back to

Denmark. The next year King Christian VI sent necessary supplies, and the few colonists that remained met with more secular success than in any previous year. Later came word that the Greenland trade was to be opened anew and the mission to be sustained, for which purpose his majesty had ordered a gift of four hundred pounds sterling. Persistent loyalty to the King of kings triumphed. One party of northern explorers in the preceding century named a high promontory which they discovered "Cape Hold-with-Hope." Egede, whose very name suggests firmness,¹ would seem to have kept that bold headland always in his eye, "Hold-with-Hope."

Health meanwhile was much impaired. Such

¹ Egede — *Eeg*, the Danish for "oak."

incessant labor, solicitude, privation, and severity of climate would tell upon any foreign constitution, however robust. For a time even his mind appears to have sympathized in a measure with its racked tenement, and the only wonder is that there was not an entire collapse of both body and mind. With the exception of chest difficulties Greenland is subject to few diseases. No epidemic or contagious malady had been known among the natives until one of six youths who were sent to Copenhagen on returning brought the small-pox, which was communicated to his countrymen. It raged for a twelvemonth, making fearful havoc. Certain places were depopulated, some of the people in their panic committing suicide. When trading agents afterwards went over the country they found every house empty for leagues along the coast, and it was computed that from two to three thousand died of the distemper. Egede at that time, as always, showed himself a true friend to the Eskimos. He shrank from no offensive and wearisome offices of kindness in their behalf. This epidemic occurred about the time that Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was endeavoring to introduce vaccination into London. Egede's magnanimous wife at length succumbs, the victim of overwork and philanthropic exposures during the epidemic. She

died at the close of 1735. Like the eider fowl of Greenland, which plucks the finest down from her own breast to furnish a warm bed for her young, so was Gertrude Egede a self-sacrificing mother to the natives.

The dauntless devotion of Egede to the work he had undertaken did not fail to win a degree of favor to the cause in Norway and Denmark.¹ But what were the spiritual results of the mission in those days of incipency? Alas! that an answer no more cheering can be given. A large harvest from such soil could not be expected. Egede's motives were undoubtedly pure and his aim most praiseworthy, but by necessity his position

Results. was embarrassing. As we have seen, apparently the only way for him to reach Greenland and have the prospect of subsistence there was to organize a colony, and the basis of that undertaking on the part of stockholders and colonists was a commercial venture. Its originator had to be its leader. Under the contract, formal or implied, he was morally bound to look after the secular interests of those who had assumed pecuniary responsibilities. It was, then, a formidable embarrassment that Egede should from the first feel obliged to be all the while looking out for places and sources of more profitable

¹ Note 52.

trade and should experience constant chagrin at the inadequate financial returns. What in the way of religious achievements can be expected of a missionary whose thoughts are occupied largely with sealskins, whalebone, and blubber?

Without adverting again to the almost insurmountable impediments of climate, to impediments in the language and habits of the people, which are likely to be met with in any barbarous region, we must notice that Egede was not fully possessed with the true idea of evangelization. He entertained the mistaken theory that civilization must precede Christianity. With such a theory no one will have large success in "turning men from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God." Nor

Mistaken
Theory.

with such a theory should any large success be looked for even in the line of mere civilization. The quickest, surest method for starting a savage on the high road of mental improvement and improvement in social relations is to secure the lodgment in his soul of some worthy energizing thought. And what impulse can be so mighty as the sense of personal responsibility to the holy God, the sense of sin with its penal consequences, and acquaintance with the good news of free grace through the atoning Lamb?

There is no need of preparing a way for the gospel; it makes a way for itself and for everything else that is good. Preliminaries not having immediate and direct reference to the salvation of the soul are no more required than are introductory arrangements before repentance and faith can become obligatory and can be suitably pressed upon the conscience. Breaking down superstition does not necessarily introduce vital religion. Of all healthful forces for moving man in the career of ennobling civilization, what can compare with saving faith? The truest philanthropist is the one who determines first of all not to know anything among men save Jesus Christ and him crucified, and who accounts himself "debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians." The very alpha of the missionary's office, in the tropics or at the poles, is to deliver the message of Him who has sent him, "Look unto me and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth."

Egede had only slight success, if any, in saving souls. His heart was right, but his theory defective. The natives mimicked and derided—than which is there anything harder to bear? In his wearisome and unfruitful toil it would have been very singular if he did not sometimes adopt the psalmist's ejaculation, "O Lord, how long?" Would it have been any-

thing strange if, like John Baptist in the castle of Machærus on the dreary eastern shore of the Dead Sea, Egede in his icy prison during the long night of winter should sometimes grow moody? Fifteen years of unremitting and unrequited labor were now passed. He preaches his farewell sermon. His text is (Isaiah xlix: 4), "Then I said, I have labored in vain, I have
Egede
Returns.
 spent my strength for nought, and in vain: yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God." In shattered health, taking the cherished remains of his wife, he returns to Copenhagen. The king gives him an audience, makes him superintendent (1740) of a training seminary for the mission, and confers on him the title of Bishop of Greenland, as upon his son after him. He wrote a narrative of his enterprise,¹ and died (1758) at the age of seventy-two. His name is perpetuated on the Greenland coast in the name of a settlement, *Egedeminde*, "Egede's Memorial."

"A failure!" ejaculate the unsympathizing. "What good came of it?" they ask superciliously. That all expectations, Christian and secular, were not realized has been fully ad-

¹ *Relation angaaende den Grønlandske Missions Begyndelse og forsætelse*. Copenhagen, 1738. Also, *Den gamle Grønland*. Copenhagen, 1741-44.

mitted; but in point of fact this noble Norwegian headed and planted what has proved to be a permanent colony, and that too under circumstances more disheartening than have been met by any similar enterprise in the whole range of colonial history. Greed was never his motive, nor did he incur any reasonable censure for mismanagement. With respect even to commercial interests it did not become worldly Danes to speak disparagingly of this private enterprise, conducted as it was with prudence, energy, and more of success than we should expect considering the obstacles encountered. How was

Heroism. it with a similar government undertaking of that period? One Danish commander lighting upon a bank of Greenland sand that resembled gold fancied that his fortune was made. Filling his ship with the supposed treasure he sailed for Denmark, reveling on his voyage in dreams of opulence. In 1728 four or five Danish ships were sent out—one a man-of-war—with masons, carpenters, and other handicraftsmen, taking artillery and materials for a fort and a new colony. The officers took horses with them to ride across the country and over the mountains with a view to discovering the supposed lost colony of the eastern coast. Those useless animals soon died. The soldiers mutinied. Neither

the governor nor the missionary was safe, for houses of correction had been emptied to furnish the colonists. Egede, who before could sleep in the hovels of savage Greenlanders, now needs a guard to defend his bed against the attacks of Christian fellow countrymen.

How much of disaster has attended nearly all secular enterprises at the north! Time was when the Arctic archipelago might be seen studded with abandoned ships, six of them left in the ice—the Investigator at Mercy Bay, the Resolute and Intrepid at Melville Island, the Assistance and Pioneer in Wellington Channel, and the Advance in Smith's Sound, besides the Erebus and Terror, which were believed to have been left before in the Strait of James Ross. In Melville Bay more than two hundred ships have already perished. Superior character and superior skill have not sufficed. Sir John Franklin was a man of piety, so were Parry and Scoresby, and though more than one ship's company have perished of cold and starvation we do not pronounce all those expeditions unauthorized.² While one chief object in view has been but

Arctic
Disasters.

¹ Although a thousand years have passed since Eric the Red discovered Greenland the interior remained less known than was the interior of Africa till within a few years.

² Sargent's *Arctic Adventures*, p. 472.

partially accomplished there are few problems relating to the physics of our globe—atmospheric pressure, electricity, currents, the aurora, the figure of the earth—which can be understood otherwise than by an observation of polar phenomena. Important benefits have accrued to science and indirectly to commerce.

Hans Egede's mission was not a failure. Weight and worth of character are measured by something else than success. The awards of heaven are not graduated by results, but according to fidelity. "Except," says Dr. Geikie, "except that the ancestors of Egede perished on the east coast of that most dismal country, and that its unsurveyed leagues of ice and snow were figuratively under the Danish flag, we know of no claim which Greenland ever had upon Danish Christians."¹ Not so had this pious man learned Christ, nor did he thus interpret Providence. He had been called of God to that undertaking. By heeding the divine summons he accomplished more for Scandinavia, more for mankind, by far than he could have done among the rocks of Vaagen. He was a debtor to those northern barbarians, and obeying the divine impulse he became a historical character. His noble example is felt in the world today and will

¹ *Christian Missions*. London, 1861. P. 98.

be felt to the end of time. We marvel at the obtuseness that fails to see in the career of this humble missionary an example of moral sublimity. When King Frederick had just been searching for Danish subjects qualified to enter upon mission work in India with its attractions, and had to solicit recruits from a foreign nationality, a young pastor on the rock-bound coast of Norway and almost within hearing of the Maelstrom was meditating on the forlorn condition of men in a region yet more rugged. The King of kings was giving him a call. He could not clearly interpret the summons at first. Circumstances seemed to chain him to the rocks of Vaagen. At length, as to the strong man at Lehi, "the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him;" without wavering he toils on year after year amidst suspicion and obloquy for the privilege of expatriating himself and of reaching an icy home that he may benefit a wretched population. Once there he endures a fifteen years' martyrdom of privation, perils, reproaches, and disappointments. He has the genius of Christian patience.¹ Irresolution never masters him. The sternest realities man can ever meet he looks in the face unterrified. To faith in Christ there are no obstacles that cannot be overcome; to the

Genuine
Nobility.

¹ *Le genie c'est la patience. — Buffon.*

man who takes counsel of duty rather than of difficulty there are no impossibilities.

Hans Egede pioneered the way for other missionaries, Danish and Moravian. By his endurance and perseverance he showed the capabilities of Christian fortitude. His life at the north changed the temperature of that continent of frost for all time to come. His example is no coruscation of the *borealis*, but a steady beacon light to guide and animate every wavering Christian laborer in lands less inhospitable. Estimated on the scale of motives and qualities this apostle

Usefulness. was a hero and his mission a triumph. You are familiar with the incident of two northern travelers lighting upon a man at the point of freezing. One of them sprang to his relief, raised him, half buried in the snow, chafed him, restored warmth, and by the rescue of a benumbed wanderer brought himself into a thorough glow. His inactive companion, wrapped in furs, came near perishing from cold. So is it with communities, and Norway has today a life she would not possess but for that philanthropic service in Greenland. Did she ever produce a man more useful to herself than Hans Egede?

The mission as well as the colony established by him became permanent. After a century and a half it exists today. When in the latter

part of the last century and beginning of the present the Danish church at home had become torpid through rationalism this mission, as might be expected, declined. Since then there has been to some extent a favorable change; yet the preachers sent out from Denmark are in the main candidates, not of the first grade, who go for only a limited time, five to eight years, who do not usually acquire the language, and who—as has sometimes been true elsewhere—make this service a stepping-stone to some more attractive benefice at home. It is to be acknowledged that the power of evangelical Christianity is not strikingly marked in the character and habits of the native people, yet decided improvement has taken place; the community has become nominally Christian. In Danish Greenland proper the last acknowledged pagan Eskimo died some years since. Most of the people are able to read and write, and here is one of the instances of a rude people increasing instead of diminishing by contact with civilization and superior foreigners.¹ The Danish Government—to its special honor be it said—has pursued a paternal policy, for one thing wisely excluding ardent spirits, that destructive bane among so many rude races.

¹ In 1789 the population was only 5,122; in 1872 it had become 9,441.

There is in Greenland singularly one warm spring, with a uniform temperature of a hundred and four degrees Fahrenheit; and while most of the birds are birds of prey there is one bird of song, the linnet. Such are the fountain and melody of our holy religion in that land of appalling dreariness.

XI

MORAVIAN MISSIONS.

IN a suburb of Constance, near where the Rhine leaves the lake, stands one of the more appropriate monuments in Europe. It is a rude, massive boulder placed on the spot where more than four and a half centuries ago John Huss and Jerome of Prague were burned at the stake. Few incidents of foreign travel ever impressed me more than to find on the morning of an anniversary of the martyrdom of Huss that a Protestant gentleman from Prague, in **John Huss.** Bohemia, had climbed before daybreak over the high iron fence which incloses the monument and with a wreath of fresh immortelles had crowned the memorial rock. John Huss, the true-hearted, with noble simplicity and conscientious firmness, never made giddy by applause nor despondent by persecution, a reformer before the Reformation and a Bohemian Brother before the Unitas Fratrum, furnished an impulse and type of that movement which

issued in the colony at Herrnhut. Between his martyrdom, in July, 1415, and the present hour there lie two noteworthy eras in the history of the United Brethren—the one a testimony of endurance under cruel oppression, the other achievements of signal evangelism. These two eras are by no means disconnected. By the evident design of Providence they form a coherent whole. The roots of the present always lie hid in the past.

One of two results usually flows from severe trial; individuals and communities either enfeeble their spiritual life by pitying themselves and nursing an expectation of pity from others, or else active benevolence is stimulated. Suffering that fails to make a man or a church more enterprising in the way of Christian philanthropy, that fails to ennoble and expand character, fails of its chief end.

Discipline. If self-indulgent inactivity results decay will ensue. Seldom is any one called to notable service in behalf of fellow men without some severity of previous discipline. In the pit and in prison Joseph qualifies to become the best governor Egypt ever had. The oppression of Pilgrims and Puritans in England, their early hardships on the rugged shores of New England, and their subsequent experiences in war contributed to that character which has revealed itself in missionary movements now

constituting the truest glory of our land. Embarrassments under which John Eliot and others like him labored in the mother country and the condition of self-exile to a wilderness made them all the more ready for Christian effort in behalf of the Indian. Often does the baptism of fire and blood seal a consecration to high and far-reaching aims. On the anvil and under the hammer character grows broad. The Hebrew lad sold to Ishmaelites is not the only instance of a slave effecting vast benefit to others. Was it not in the divine thought that both king and queen of the Iberians should be converted when a Christian female in the fourth century was carried away captive into Asiatic Georgia? Was it not in order to the planting of Christianity in Abyssinia that God allowed the capture by fierce natives of two Christian youths, one of whom became the first bishop in that country? During all the Moravian experience of oppression and bloodshed He who seeth the end from the beginning had evidently in mind salvation for the Eskimos in arctic regions, for African slaves in tropical West Indies, and for Hottentots in Africa.

Having prepared a volume of lectures on Moravian missions I shall not, of course, in a single chapter attempt much of detail, but only present a few general considerations and facts.

The merit of a revived, collective apprehension of Christ's great aim in his kingdom on earth belongs to the Renewed Church of the United Brethren. What Wittenberg was to Rome Herrnhut became to Protestant Christendom. In modern times the Moravian Church was the first as a church and at the outset of her career to render practical in her life a just conception of what Christianity has to do for our world. Individual and sporadic efforts, governmental and colonial movements, in the line of foreign evangelism had, as we have seen, taken place, yet few of them proceeded upon the basis of a distinctly recognized duty to give the gospel to the heathen as heathen and because such is the command of Him who died for all.

**Moravian
Antecedence.**

Reverting once more to the low countries we gladly accord to that commercial corporation, the Dutch East India Company, a laudable interest in supporting ministers of the gospel in the Asiatic possessions of Holland—Formosa, Amboyna, Java, and Ceylon—and that, too, before similar movements in Great Britain. The main impulse, however, proceeded, as we saw, from the circumstance that Hollanders—government servants and merchants—were settled in those islands, and that by conquest in the first half of the seventeenth century native

peoples had come under Dutch rule. The method of evangelization was to a considerable extent unsatisfactory. Not a little coercion was used. Christianity, instead of being introduced into the heart or sometimes even into the head, was imposed upon the people. It need hardly be said that the Reformed Church of the Netherlands was very far from being thoroughly leavened with a missionary spirit.

In England, also, societies like that for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, whose charter bears the date of 1701, sprang primarily from a desire to supply British colonies with clergymen, catechists, and schoolmasters. Labor in behalf of heathen in and near the colonies was a subordinate, an incidental, consideration. Only a few in the Church of England and among Dissenters had dreamed of what was due from them to the outside pagan world. The Congregational churches of New England in the last half of the seventeenth century came nearer than any others of that period to some just appreciation of the great duty owed by Christian men to those who sit in the region and shadow of death. Their sense of obligation, as has been shown, began to find expression during the decade from 1640-1650 in labors commenced by John Eliot and the Mayhews—labors into which

others also entered then and later. But the men who led in that example remained pastors of churches composed of English colonists, so were others who followed their example. Exclusive devotion by any Protestant to Christian work among the Indians in that century was scarcely known.

The little kingdom of Denmark having acquired possessions on the Coromandel Coast of India, a colonial interest, as you recollect, occasioned the mission to Tranquebar. The originating motive of Hans Egede's expedition to Greenland was the hope of finding and ministering to supposed descendants of Christian Scandinavians who centuries before had settled in that region of ice. Those associated with him in the enterprise, except his noble wife Gertrude, were at the outset chiefly influenced by the prospect of a remunerative trade. But those early Danish missions had only a feeble hold upon the Lutheran Church of Denmark and Norway.

A foreign mission as we now understand that term—a movement, simple and pure, of Christian men entertaining the primary purpose of carrying the gospel to the heathen because they are heathen—was scarcely known in the Protestant world till 1732. Just eleven years after Egede the Norwegian sailed from Bergen and just eleven years before David Brainerd

betook himself to Kaunaumeeek such an undertaking originated at Herrnhut.

As for the refugees from ancient Egypt there was needed a counselor and lawgiver of eminent piety, breadth of culture, endowed with the qualities of a statesman and prophet, one educated elsewhere than in a servile condition, so the refugees in Upper Lusatia needed a leader with far different training from what could be had among persecuted artisans of Bohemia. Such a leader was in preparation. Of noble birth, by marriage connections related to several royal families on the Continent, with superior endowments, from boyhood onward moved to a consecration of talents and treasures to the promotion of evangelical interests at home and Zinzendorf. abroad, Count Zinzendorf rises to our view as one of the more remarkable characters of the last century. What other name is known to ecclesiastical annals of a man in such high social position who at an early period of life became possessed with a grand Christian idea so foreign to men of his rank and so in advance of his age, who in the sanctified ardor of youth entered into covenant to do all possible for the cause of evangelization, and that, too, among those most neglected by others—a covenant from which he had not swerved when at threescore (1760) death closed his

earthly activities? Gross Hennersdorf, German universities, and the Saxon court furnished Herrnhut with a Moses.

But what of the period? In Germany it was to a sad extent a period of scholasticism in both the Lutheran and Reformed Churches; a period of bitter theological contests; a period of sheer orthodoxy, evangelical feeling and life having largely evaporated. The spurious illuminism of later years is just becoming visible in its murky dawn; the philosophy which brought on rationalism is making its early essays to dominate revelation. In

The Epoch. the person of Frederick William I there sits on the throne of Prussia the strangest compound of religiosity and violent passion that ever wore a crown, and there will soon be a reaction in favor of French tinsel and French infidelity.

Pietism distressed by the petrifying condition of the religious world had for many years been striving, and with a measure of success, to throw off the stiff bands of confessionalism and revive a Biblical piety. It insisted upon a new heart, a new creature in Christ Jesus, as the primary need of every man, savage or cultured, and then of a warm Christian fellowship. But in its reaction from torpor pietism had in turn somewhat deteriorated; it was becoming narrow, concentrated within itself,

and censorious. Some good men of the Halle school thought Zinzendorf could not be a child of God because he had not been through the penitential struggle after their pattern. The excellent men who gave in their adhesion to that form of revived religion kept themselves unduly apart from the rest of society; they lacked breadth; their theology was too much a theology of feeling and frames. There was needed a forth-putting spirit, a spirit of enterprise in behalf of others, an element which happily did enter into the life of Moravianism. Herrnhut became indeed a tropical island in a polar ocean, but her fruit trees were destined to be transplanted. The two leading ideas of church existence—personal culture and aggression, growth intensively and extensively, each an auxiliary to the other—harmonized in the spiritual temperament of the United Brethren.

This will appear all the more noticeable when it is considered what the regimen was which Zinzendorf introduced—an isolated community, whose municipal, industrial, and social affairs were administered by church authorities, no outsider to hold real estate or to have residence within corporate limits. Such a system, continuing still in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe, though relinquished in this country, was not of itself as a polity suited to enlargement or perpetuity. Were

it not for the evangelistic movement outward to the farthest lines, local and social, of our race Herrnhut might before this have become an entity of the past. The well-defined restoration of a primitive missionary element supplied the required conserving and vital force.

The main question evermore confronts us, What is a man, what is a communion, worth for the kingdom of God, that progressive kingdom which is to fill the earth? Every people as well as every individual has by divine appointment an office to perform, a niche to fill. The function of Moravianism has been to embody and illustrate before the eyes of Protestants the harmony of Christian life at home centers and evangelistic energy abroad.

In every great undertaking or discovery chief merit pertains to priority. To Herrnhut belongs the credit of having as a church taken the lead, beginning her missions in 1732, and having persisted therein amidst the religious apathy and growing rationalism of the last century and the early part of our present century. The year 1732 was the year in which Voltaire published his *Lettres Philosophiques*, and the grinning infidel had only too much occasion to chuckle over the fact that Vernet, a Protestant minister at Geneva, was insisting, not upon the necessity, but the utility, of our holy religion! It will be remembered, too,

that besides Moravianism there was another remarkable manifestation of the spiritual revival, which began with Spener's *Collegia Pietatis* two hundred years ago. It was Wesleyanism. The pietistic wave struck Great Britain, and its marvelous result is second only to the Reformation of the sixteenth century. That, however, in its organization and its foreign missionary movement was later by a generation than Herrnhut and was in some measure an outgrowth of Herrnhut.

The question arises, What was the distinctive element out of which sprang the movement that marks 1732 a red-letter year in missionary annals? That element was an unusually fervent love to our Saviour. I will not pause to speak of infelicities in the poetic imagery of an early Moravian era, particularly in the Sifting Period. Of

Motive Power.

what account are mere æsthetic blemishes as against the substantial and more important features of vital piety? Why should they even be alluded to—as is often done, and sometimes discredibly—when the denomination has sloughed them off and repudiated them? I repeat, one marked characteristic of the Brethren's Church and the fountain of her remarkable missionary zeal is warmth of loyalty to Him who is Head of the Church. I am not aware that since primitive days any communion

of believers have as a body in such marked manner and so uniformly kept the eye upon the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world. Thence has come the inspiration which makes a Moravian community in its best days so free from pomp, noise, and worldliness, from the greed of gain and honor; which sheds the charm of simplicity and cheerfulness over social life, over religious worship, over death and the resting place of the dead—a charm restful and refreshing, that abides even in the most repulsive regions of foreign missionary toil. Every evangelical church possesses in some measure, of course, a genuine affection for our Lord; but as Faraday has shown that a dormant magnetism exists in all metals, which will become apparent only at a certain temperature, so in some Christian bodies there is required a degree of rare religious fervor to make it apparent that charity abides there. It must be said that this virtue, with some alternations of vigor, has been eminently cultivated by the United Brethren, among whom there has never prevailed a Christless Christianity, nor Christ without the cross, nor the cross without the resurrection. Philosophy undertakes no foreign missions; she will never quit her groves of Academus. Little would it avail if she did. Mere philanthropy will not take men into unevangelized regions. No reliance

for reclaiming the race can be had save upon those who discover that on the cross justice and mercy harmonize, who become so penetrated by the love of God in Christ Jesus that they "cannot but speak the things which they have seen and heard." The place where they shall witness, whether among kindred at home or heathen at the ends of the earth, is a matter of comparative indifference so the Master makes his pleasure plain. The excellent Charles Simeon, of Cambridge, kept a portrait of Henry Martyn in his study, which seemed to be all the while saying, "Be earnest, be earnest; don't trifle, don't trifle;" and Simeon would say, "Yes, I will be earnest, I will be earnest; I will not trifle, for souls are perishing and Jesus must be glorified." Missionaries of the United Brethren have for the most part kept the eye on a countenance more commanding, more lovely, "looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith."

Such being the case, what might be expected of Moravian missionaries with regard to their fields of remote and arduous labor? Just what we find—that they go forth not so much in the service of the *Unitas Fratrum* as from personal obedience to the Lord Jesus, because his express command brings to them an untransferable duty and because the pledge of

his perpetual presence they know will be redeemed; just what we find—that in their peculiarly trying experience they are kept hopeful and cheerful by the lively consciousness of that union, which is so intimate that if a member be wounded here on earth the Head in heaven feels it. By experience as well as by the Word of God are they taught that spiritual life does not spring up out of native depths in man's soul, but comes down from Christ into individual hearts; that saving knowledge is not revealed by flesh and blood,

Christian
Loyalty.

but is something divinely imparted which finds its way to the center of one's being and there masters the man; and how can they do otherwise than lift up the cross to the gaze of sin-smitten man? Thanks that Zinzendorf inculcated the "theology of blood," his own expression; thanks that Francke, his teacher, taught "a drop of faith is more noble than a whole sea of science, though it be the historical science of the divine Word." There are only two systems of salvation—every man his own saviour or no man saved by himself alone. What other ground of peace and hope for the guilty is there besides Calvary, that focus of the universe? The expiatory and propitiatory cross is the appointed place for friendly meeting between God and man, heaven and earth. Only

from the cross waves the white flag of truce. Deeply penetrated with a conviction of this truth missionaries of the United Brethren have started out, never questioning the universal need or the universal adaptation of the gospel. They have held with peculiar distinctness that the Greek is no better fitted to receive the gospel and to enter heaven by his speculation, and that the barbarian is no less fitted by his rudeness; that there is no aristocratic salvation; that Christianity is no more designed for Philemon, the wealthy master, than for Onesimus, the bond servant; that it is suited to man as man, whatever his language, color, kindred, or country—suited to every existing, every conceivable, type and grade of civilization and of degradation; hence, believing assuredly that for spiritual vision the Sun of Righteousness is equally indispensable and equally adapted to every eye, whether that organ be blue or black or whatever its shade.

“God hangs great weights on small wires,” says an Oriental proverb. The truth thus homely expressed has been illustrated in Moravian missions. It has been maintained by the supreme Ruler from the first. Objects, places, and instruments for the accomplishment of purposes more intimately relating to his spiritual kingdom have usually been chosen with apparent reference to staining the pride

of human glory. Is the angel Jehovah to appear signally to Moses? It will not be in the tall cedar or terebinth, but in a burning bush. By the vision of a barley loaf prostrating a tent among the host of Midian is foreshadowed what the little band under Gideon will accomplish. Would we behold the eternal Word made flesh and come to dwell among us? Shepherds will be our guides and we look into a stable. The first to announce his ceremonial presence at the temple will be an aged widow; the first to herald his resurrection, a humble woman. This law, of which

Small — Great. we are so often reminded in the history of the Church, is one which our countrymen have special need to ponder. We are addicted to an idolatry of bulk. We boast of great lakes, great rivers, great spaces, as if these things would make a nation great, whereas the aggregate of little things is usually greater than the aggregate of great ones. It would require a larger chasm to hold all the coral insects of our world than all the elephants, and what those animalcules accomplish is of more importance in the economy of nature than the huge quadrupeds of Asia and Africa together. Pride of bigness fails to consider that dwelling among superior magnitudes only makes conceit and vanity the more glaring. Is it not time for us to give

thought rather to the busy bee than to the spread eagle? Go to the ant—architect, soldier, political economist; consider her ways and be wise. Was it the vast territory of Scythia or little Attica that furnished statesmen, philosophers, poets, and historians who have been models to the rest of the world? Was it in populous Peking or in Bethlehem Ephratah, little among the thousands of Judah, where the Lord of glory appeared in human form? It is great and good ideas associated with energy that make a man or a people truly great. That alone which reveals the divine, that which is knit to a noble future, knit to eternity, ranks really high. Humble instrumentalities and grand ultimate consequences disclose the strength and skill of the mighty One of Israel. Was the size of Moses' rod wherewith he brought water from the rock of any account? The human following and force of our Lord at first were only a few fishermen, a few women, and a few children.

Let us travel back one hundred and sixty-two years to the Hutberg at Herrnhut in Lusatia. Casting an eye at the neighboring hamlet we see no imposing architecture, nor in society or worship any imposing forms. The place has had existence for only ten years. A majority of the inhabitants are

exiles, poor and not highly educated, with two or three exceptions not high born, planted and permitted on this spot rather by sufferance than with the good will of any government. Among them is a young man from Suabia, twenty-seven years of age, a potter by trade. One night in July, 1731, he is sleepless. What keeps him awake? There was once a young man at Athens who said the trophy of Miltiades would not let him sleep; is any such ambition at work here? A thought from on high has been received, a holy ardor is kindled in his soul. No such little affair as that of

Herrnhut, 1732.

Marathon fills his mind; personal aggrandizement has no place. Amidst night watches his heart turns toward benighted slaves in the West Indies, and his purpose is formed—he will carry the news of salvation to Africans in bondage. There has for some time been a prayer meeting at Herrnhut every evening, and he is always present. A remarkable season of refreshing from on high four years ago stood evidently connected with his prayers and those of his immediate associates. He was at the meeting when Count Zinzendorf spoke of the condition of West India slaves, also when Anthony, the black man from St. Thomas, told the story of his dark-minded countrymen and of his sister, who had some desire to know

the way of life. The thought of saving one soul prepares this young brother for any sacrifice. The cross of Christ is the trophy that will not let Leonard Dober sleep that night. The next day he finds that his friend Tobias Leupold was similarly affected at the same time with himself by the same circumstances and has been moved to the same resolution.

In missionary annals similar coincidences not unfrequently present themselves, and such a coincidence usually marks an epoch. The year 1644 furnishes an example. John Eliot began his study of the Indian language and Thomas Mayhew, encouraged by the conversion of Hiacoomes, was preparing for Christian labors in the vernacular of Martha's Vineyard, but the undertakings of those two devout men were quite inde-

Coincidences.

pendent of each other. Seventeen hundred and ninety-five yields an illustration. Dr. Bogue was supplying the pulpit of the Tabernacle in Bristol, England; Dr. Ryland, of that city, received letters from the Baptist missionaries in Bengal and sends for Dr. Bogue, who belongs to a different denomination, to hear them read. Then they kneel and pray together, and the thought occurs to Dr. Bogue that it was most desirable and might be practicable to unite Christians of different denominations for missionary purposes.

That was the germ of the London Missionary Society.

We return to Herrnhut. Leupold writes a letter to the congregation communicating the desire of himself and Dober to become missionaries. By the public reading of that letter two more young men, Matthew Stach and Frederick Böhnisch, are simultaneously impressed, resolve to offer themselves for service in Greenland, and next year will be on their way thither. The very atmosphere of Herrnhut is becoming quick with the evangelistic element. The delay of a twelvemonth only confirms the resolution of Dober. It has

First
Missionaries.

taken time, though far less time than is usual, to convince the Moravian Church that the scheme is neither a wild one nor premature. Martin Linner, the worthy chief elder of the congregation, an invalid, has set his heart on having Dober succeed him in office and cannot bear to have him leave. Generally the best men suited for foreign service are most needed at home.

The day for departure is at hand. David Nitschmann, who after awhile will be ordained as the first bishop of the Renewed Church of the United Brethren, and chiefly with a view to furthering the cause of missions, has been selected to accompany Dober. Leave-taking,

with prayer and singing, is over. No laudatory speeches are made, no torchlight processions take place. The morning of August 21, 1732, dawns; no, it has hardly dawned. At three o'clock they start northward, Count Zinzendorf taking them some miles on their way to Bautzen. Thence they set out—a potter and a carpenter, with a small bundle in hand and less than four dollars each in the pocket—for a journey of six hundred miles on foot, and at the end of that journey they will still be four thousand miles from the place of destination.

Chimerical! preposterous! exclaim the unthinking. Pause a moment. Into the soul of that man whose trade is to work in clay there has come a spark from heaven. It has kindled a flame, clear, calm, steady. Since primitive times he is the first missionary to African slaves. He is the first Protestant missionary to the heathen of tropical America. At Herrnhut he has not been argued out of his convictions; at Copenhagen stories of cannibalism will not frighten him out of his purpose, nor will he be wearied out of it by the refusal of every Danish shipmaster to take him to St. Thomas. On the long pedestrian journey from Lusatia to Denmark all professing Christians, save one, laugh at the potter and carpenter or else pity them; and that one, the appreciative Countess von Stolberg,

represents just about the proportion of persons then on the Continent who would be likely to estimate aright the motives and aims of these men.

There are some who can declaim well on the subject of universal brotherhood; there always have been such. Even heathen poets could get off fine sentiment now and then, Seneca saying,¹ "I was not born for one corner; this whole world is my country;" Lucan professing to believe that he was born,² "not for himself solely, but for all mankind." Yet which of them ever lifted so much as a finger for philanthropic purposes? And of all the thousands in evangelical Europe on the twenty-first of August, 1732, how many were moving toward the heathen world in obedience to Christ's command? Just two men, who have bidden good-by to Herrnhut long before sunrise—men who have taken in the simple distinctive idea of evangelization and in whom that means something else than stay at home. They head a long line of quiet, unostentatious laborers of the *Unitas Fratrum*³ who have knocked at frozen doors for permission to proclaim the love of Jesus; who have traversed regions where the sun shineth in his strength, follow-

¹ *Non sum uno angulo natus; patria mea totus hic est mundus.*

² *Nec sibi, sed toti gentium se credere mundo.*

³ Note 53.

ing in tracks most familiar to the tornado and to the pestilence that walketh in darkness;¹ who in the face of the brand and the tomahawk have gone with a song in the heart and on the lips. Not unfrequently have they had precedence on given foreign fields.² While David Brainerd was still a freshman at Yale Moravian missionaries devoted themselves to a portion of the Delaware tribe. They reduced the language to writing and printed a number of works, religious and of an educational character. For a century and a half have they in various languages made cultivated plantations, primeval forests, and dreary wastes vocal with the hymn of Zinzendorf,

No Romanticism.

"Jesus, thy blood and righteousness,"

and Paul Gerhardt's,

"O Head, so full of bruises!"

Chiefly it is to men on the outer verge of moral and social hopelessness that they have gone, yet not primarily to civilize them; not so much to make Moravians as to make Chris-

¹ Note 54.

² One instance is that of labor in behalf of the Cherokees, which was begun by Steiner and Byhan in 1801, eleven years before the American Board sent men to Bombay and sixteen years before the Board established a mission among that tribe.



tians; not mere reformation, but salvation, is their great aim.

Civilization never saves, may fail altogether of preparing for Christianity. Christianity never fails to bring civilization in its train. The United Brethren have, indeed, everywhere introduced schools and industrial arts, but the hiding of their missionary power is in the cross of Christ. Studiously and wisely have they abstained from intermeddling with

Fidelity. political affairs; theirs is not the gospel of intrigue. Largely toiling for self-support they have yet seldom become secularized. Most courageously have they as a general thing kept to their work. Purloining the fruit of other men's labors, welcoming the disciplined members, and employing the rejected native helpers of neighboring missions are not chargeable upon them. What though physical science has not been their forte; what though no great invention or discovery, no epic poem or popular romance, has emanated from them; theirs is a work unspeakably higher on the scale of the Messianic kingdom—winning souls to Christ and fitting them for glory.

With rare persistence have they clung to their purpose. Does a backslidden Indian leave the mission settlement and wander into the wilderness? A youthful Moravian follows him into the forest, finds him at length, tells

him it is in vain he flees; were he to go hundreds of miles he would still pursue him. The Indian's heart melts. "Do the brethren remember me still? Are you come merely to seek me?" and he weeps in bitter contrition. Thousands upon thousands of converts are the more than golden reward of such perseverance. Numberless are the witnesses like a dying Eskimo girl. "O Redeemer!" she exclaims, raising her wasted hands toward heaven, "O Redeemer! how is it that when I hear of thee I cannot refrain from tears? As the eider fowl to the rock, so cleaveth my soul to thee!"

August 21, 1732! Not Yorktown or Waterloo; not Aboukir or Trafalgar; not the birthday of king or empress, but the birthday of a movement having grandeur in that only kingdom which shall flourish forever. Once more I call attention to the fact that the influence of a country or a community upon the destinies of our race has little respect to its geographical extent. August 21.

It was a land whose greatest length was about the same as the distance from New York to Boston, and whose entire area did not exceed one half that of Missouri, which saved Europe from the desolating invasion of Persian hordes. Venice was never more influential than when her territory on the mainland was less than

one square mile. Within seven years from August 21, 1732, Herrnhut sent out ten different missions—than which is there any fact in the whole range of evangelistic history more noteworthy?¹ From that obscure radiating point in Central Europe missions have been established on each of the five other continents, yet to the present day Herrnhut is a settlement of only one thousand souls. If other Protestant churches, the older and the younger, had been equally prompt and in proportion to numbers equally devoted to this cause, instead of sleeping on oblivious to what is due to the unevangelized, equipped with so small an amount of information and so large a supply of objections, Zion would be seen to have arisen, her light being come and the glory of the Lord being risen upon her. Had that been done Jesuits would not be glorying in their priority of missionary zeal, nor would the heathen world be now flinging back reproaches upon Christendom for her unpardonable tardiness;² the Karen would not have put to the missionary

¹ It is said that not long since a Moravian functionary called at the office of the East Africa Company in Berlin to solicit some facilities for the new missions on the lakes. His request was cordially granted, and he was invited in to see the directors. After a little pleasant chat one of the gentlemen asked him whether the Moravian Church had ever carried on a mission before!—*Missionary Review*, March, 1894, p. 231.

² Note 55.

the questions: "If so long a time has elapsed since the crucifixion of Christ why has not this good news reached us before? Why have so many generations of our fathers gone down to hell for want of it?" nor would the New Zealand mother have held up her last living child to a missionary, exclaiming, "If you had come before and brought me the gospel I should not have murdered my twelve other children!"

At the present time there are one hundred and thirty-seven mission stations and more than seventy affiliated or out stations in various parts of the earth. They are found widely distributed through all latitudes, from arctic and sub-arctic regions of frigid Laborador, and Alaska through Indian reservations in North America, through tropical West Indies and the mainland of Central and South America; from the snowy heights of Tibet to Australia and to South and East Central Africa. In those fields are more than four hundred and sixty missionaries, sixty-two of them natives. In their day-schools there are over twenty-three thousand pupils. Under their care are not far from thirty-two thousand communicants—about the same, including children, as in their home churches. The Moravian foreign field counts ninety-seven thousand adherents,

Fields and
Forces.

nearly two and one-half times the whole number in home churches.¹

Gladly do we place a wreath on the monument of John Huss, on the monument of every martyr and faithful missionary; yet will we never forget that in the burning fiery furnace of Bohemia there was One, and under scorching rays of the tropics there now is One, like unto the Son of God; that amidst the long winter of Greenland and Labrador near by those humble missionary dwellings are footsteps which leave no print on the snow. Before him we cast all crowns, saying, "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, and power!"

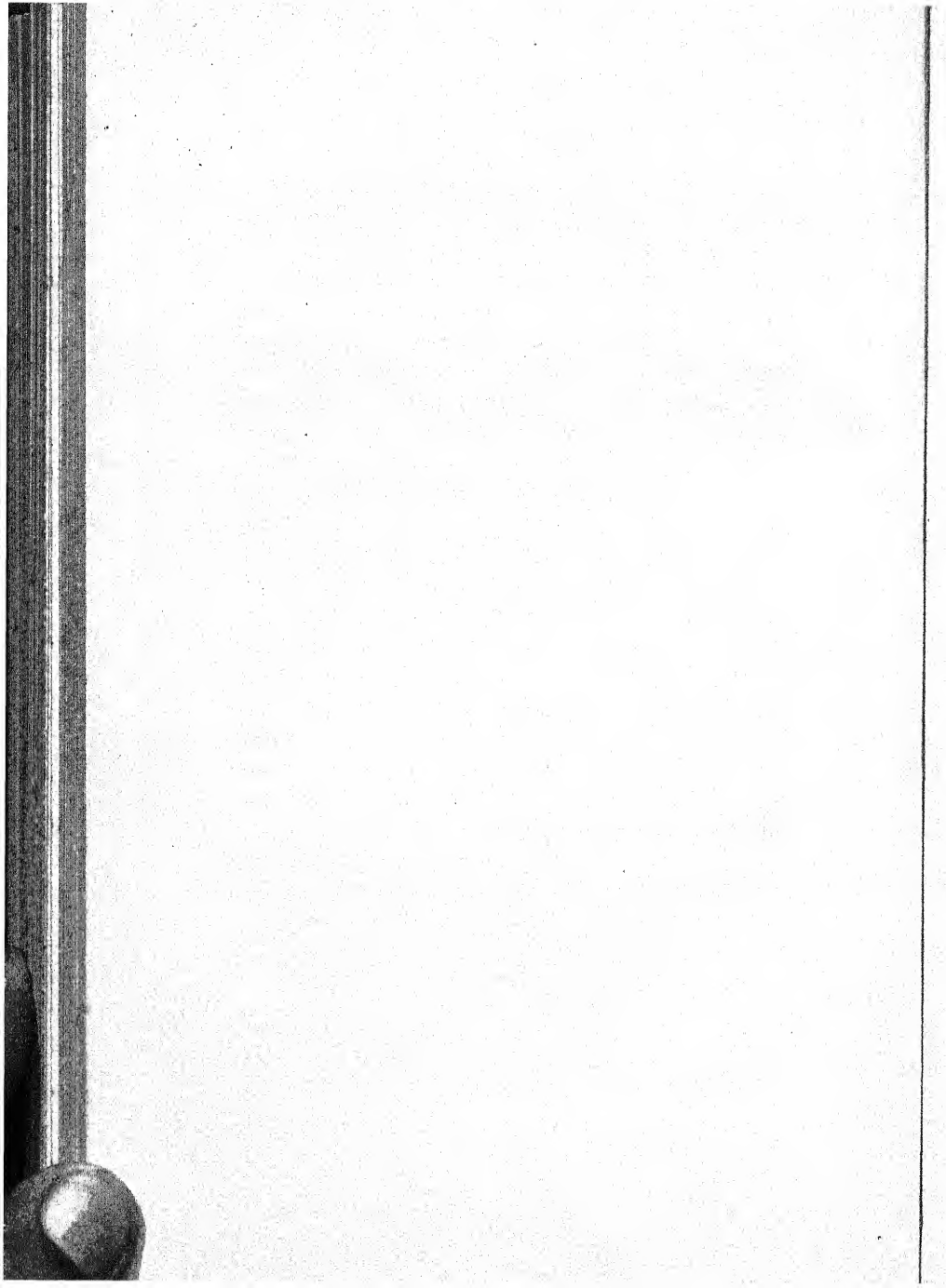
Since the founding of Herrnhut Moravians have been singularly free from self-assertion. Talking but little they have done nobly. There is no proof of practicability like a practical illustration. The demonstrations which Columbus made with the egg

and with his fleet settled two things forever. The missionary operations of the *Unitas Fratrum* during the eighteenth century were a rebuke and at length an incitement to the rest of Protestant Christendom. Though a silent factor

¹ Moravian home missions are not here included. Diaspora stations are found in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Poland, Germany, Switzerland, and the United States.

they were an important factor in starting the evangelistic movements which began in Great Britain a hundred years ago.

We do well, indeed, to render devout thanks for what is now being done in behalf of peoples unevangelized or supplied only with a decayed Christianity. In contemplating more than sixteen thousand missionaries, nearly six thousand main stations, seventy-five thousand native helpers, and nearly fourteen hundred thousand communicants scattered through the wide world we behold the mightiest of agencies engaged in a work more sublime and destined to an issue more triumphant than any other. But undue relative magnifying of the present is an undeserved reflection upon the past. Great streams are fed by remote rills. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made contributions without which the wealth of the nineteenth would be wanting. The Persians say "Ispahan is half the world;" Oriental ignorance and Oriental arrogance are yet more unseemly in Western Europe and in this Western World.



APPENDIX



APPENDIX

NOTE 1.—Page 10. Sundry mistakes regarding this movement have been put forth: "After consultation with the other pastors of Geneva he [Calvin] sent two, Guillaume Chartier and Pierre Richier, who were afterwards joined by several others." — *Newcomb's Cyclopedia of Missions*, p. 325. "Geneva sent two clergymen and fourteen students to accompany the colonists." — *Newcomb's Cyclopedia of Missions*, p. 726. "The church of Geneva as early as 1556 inaugurated foreign missions by sending a company of fourteen missionaries to Rio de Janeiro in hope of being able to introduce the reformed religion into Brazil." — *McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia*, VI, p. 356.

NOTE 2.—Page 17. Geddes, Michael: *History of the Church of Ethiopia*. London, 1696. La Croze, Maturin Veyssiere: *Histoire au Christianisme D'Ethiopie et D'Armeine*. A la Haie, 1739. P. 322. Hotten, John Camden: *Abyssinia and its People*. London, 1868. At the end a bibliography of more than two hundred works relating to Abyssinia. Thirsch, H. W. J.: *Abyssinia*. Translated by Sarah M. S. Pereira. London, 1885. Bent, J. Theodore: *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*. London, 1893.

NOTE 3.—Page 30. "The churches there being so happily planted and watered and having divers pastors, teachers, and overseers set over them."—1643, *Campbell's Missionary Success in the Island of Formosa*, I, p. 41. "In the course of thirty-seven years twenty-nine ordained men labored in Formosa. One or more of them and also some of the Dutch

schoolmasters proved to be unworthy of the service."—*Campbell's Missionary Success in the Island of Formosa, I*, pp. 69, 70.

NOTE 4.—Page 31. It has never been easy to obtain access to the archives of that company, and no adequate history of early evangelistic operations by the Dutch in the East has been written. A thorough and candid investigation of original sources is much to be desired.

NOTE 5.—Page 32. "Because a residence of three or four years only is not admissible and better not be undertaken at all, as he could not become familiar with the language in so short a time, whereas in ten or twelve years he could attain to a complete mastery of it."—*Letter of Candidius the missionary in Missionary Success in Formosa*, pp. 72, 73.

NOTE 6.—Page 34. "The Dutch governor told him [Captain Gardiner] that he might as well try to teach the monkeys as the Papuans, and the Dutch clergy gave him very little encouragement."—*C. M. Yonge's Pioneers and Founders. London, 1874. P. 272.*

NOTE 7.—Page 53. It was not till the first quarter of the present century that American notices of Eliot began to give his alleged birthplace. The name given varies thus: Nasin, Nasing, Nazing, Nazeing, in the county of Essex. Later his birth was credited to Little Baddow in the same county. Within the last twelvemonth Dr. Ellsworth Eliot, of New York City, has announced the discovery of the date of the baptism of his ancestor the apostle Eliot as recorded at Widford, county of Hertford. In the parish register of the Church of St. John Baptist at that place the record is as follows: "John Elliott, the sonne of Bennett Elliott, was baptized the fyfte daye of Auguste, in the year of our Lord God 1604." Among the marriages is that of his parents, Bennett Eliot and Letteye Aggar, the thirtieth of October, 1598. The late Archbishop Richard Whately was baptized at the same font and Charles Lamb often worshiped in the same church—a venerable building, parts of which date probably from the Norman period, eight hundred years ago. Through the

efforts of Dr. Ellsworth Eliot and the Rev. John Travis Lockwood, rector, a memorial window has been introduced into the Church of St. John. The inscription reads: "To the glory of God and in pious remembrance of John Eliot, A. B. Cantab. called 'the apostle to the Indians,' who was baptized in this church August 5, 1604; emigrated to New England A.D. 1639, and died in Roxbury, Massachusetts, May 21, 1696. This window was erected by his descendants A.D. 1894. 'The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance.'" The dedication of the window took place on the twenty-first of May of the year (1894), the then American minister at the court of St. James, His Excellency the Hon. T. F. Bayard, being present.

NOTE 8.—Page 53. Through the courtesy of Robert N. Cust, LL.D., of London, and of H. A. Morgan, master of Jesus College, Cambridge, I have lately received the following transcript from the register of that college, to which the copyist adds two memoranda, one of them relating to Eliot's Bible:

"1622 Maii die XV^o Johannes Eliott [*sic*] habuit licentiam sibi concessam petendi gratiam ab universitate ad respondendum quæstioni spondente M^{ro} Beale."

"Mr. Beale was his tutor, a fellow of the college. The 'license' is equivalent to what we call a *supplicat* which the college gives to *questionis* proceeding to the B.A. degree (see Mullinger's *History of University of Cambridge*, Vol. I, p. 352)."

"John Eliot presented to the college a copy, now in our library, of his version of the Bible in the Indian language. Title:

'THE HOLY BIBLE
containing the
OLD TESTAMENT
AND THE NEW
Translated into the
Indian Language
&c

Cambridge

Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson
MDCLXIII'

"On the fly-sheet in his handwriting :

'Pro Collegio Jesu

Accipias, mater, quod alumnus humillimus offert

Filius, oro preces semper habere tuas

Johannes Eliot.'

Mr. Morgan remarks: "I observe that in the life given of him in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* it is stated that he took his bachelor's degree in 1623, but in Leslie Stephen's *Biographical Dictionary* in 1622, and the latter date is without doubt correct. There was a Thomas Eliot at this college who took his degree in *January*, 1624—which in those days counted as 1623—and this I think must have led to mistakes as to when John Eliot took his." It should be added that the Whiting portrait of Eliot is not well authenticated.

NOTE 9.—Page 57. Major-General Gookin, a candid, conscientious acquaintance, testifies: "The truth is, Mr. Eliot engaged in this great work of preaching unto the Indians upon a very pure and sincere account; for I being his neighbor and intimate friend at the time when he first attempted this enterprise, he was pleased to communicate unto me his design and the motives that induced him thereto, which, as I remember, were principally these: First, the glory of God in the conversion of some of these poor desolate souls; secondly, his compassion and ardent affection to them as of mankind in their great blindness and ignorance; thirdly, and not the least, to endeavor, so far as in him lay, the accomplishing and fulfilling the covenant and promise that New England people had made unto their king when he granted them their patent or charter, viz., that one principal end of their going to plant these countries was to communicate the gospel unto the native Indians." "It doth evidently appear that they were heroic, noble, and Christian principles that induced this precious servant of Christ to enter upon this work, and not any carnal or by-ends; for in these times nothing of outward encouragement did appear."

NOTE 10.—Page 60. "During a religious interest among a tribe in Rhode Island, conducted in part by white men, who, of

course, used the English language while most of the Indians still employed their native tongue, an Indian female became very deeply interested for her salvation. She seemed to have embraced the notion since Christianity had been brought to her people through the English tongue that it was to be sought through the medium of that language. She feared God would not listen to her rude, pagan speech. The few converted Indians had acquired some knowledge of the English. She, however, had learned to pronounce but one word—the word ‘broom.’ Her anxiety became intense. Her Christian countrymen exhorted her to pray. She felt a deep desire to pray, but knew not how to pray as she supposed she ought since she could not employ the acceptable tongue. At last the demands of her soul and the strivings of the divine Spirit so far overcame her that, throwing herself into the attitude of a suppliant, she cried aloud, ‘Broom! Broom! Broom!’ God answered her heart instead of her lips, and instantly filled her soul with light and love and the joys of his salvation. She rose up to shout his praise, and ever afterwards served him in a pure and joyful life.”—*Rev. Frederick Denison, in Westerly and its Witnesses.* P. 80.

NOTE 11.—Page 70. A resident about the time referred to says: “Boston is two miles northeast from Roxberry. His situation is very pleasant, hemmed in on the south side with the bay of Roxberry, on the north side with the Charles River, the marshes on the back side being not half a quarter of a mile over, so that a little fencing will secure their cattle from the wolves.” “It being a neck and bare of wood, they are not troubled with three great annoyances, of wolves, rattlesnakes, and mosquitoes.”—*William Wood, in New England's Prospect.* Published at London, 1634.

NOTE 12.—Page 78. Such is the spelling of his name by the man himself in a deed dated April 3, 1692. On the gravestone the inscription reads: “Here lyes the Body of Takawomb-pait, aged 64 years. Died September the 17th, 1716.”

NOTE 13.—Page 79. General Gookin says: “We being at Wabquissit, at the Sagamon's wigwam, divers of the principal

people that were at home came to us, with whom we spent a good part of the night in prayer, singing psalms, and exhortations."

NOTE 14. — Page 79. Eliot owed not a little to his wife, a very capable and excellent woman. The first marriage recorded in the town records of Roxbury was that of John Eliot and Hannah Mumford (or Mountford, or Mountfort), 4th September, 1632. But James Savage, in the *Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers in New England*, Vol. II, says that date cannot be correct, as the ship in which the bride elect came did not arrive till twelve days after that.

Among the descendants of Eliot are persons of note: ¹

Rev. Joseph Eliot, settled at Guilford, Conn., 1664, was the only son of the apostle, whose posterity now living bear the family name.

Rev. Jared Eliot, D.D. and M.D., of Killingworth, Conn., now Clinton, a son of Joseph, was a man of mark in his day, on intimate terms with Franklin, and a correspondent with learned men in the old world.

Charles Wyllys Elliott (1817-1883), author of several works.

Among descendants not bearing the name of Eliot was Hon. Josiah Quincy, LL.D., president of Harvard College, and others of that distinguished family.

The late Samuel A. Foote, governor of Connecticut, United States senator, etc.

Mrs. Susan Huntington, wife of Rev. Joshua Huntington, of Boston, whose memoir was published.

Dr. Elisha Mitchell, professor in the North Carolina University, for whom Mt. Mitchell, the highest point of land east of the Mississippi, was named, and on whose summit his remains rest.

Fitz-Greene Halleck, born in the year 1790, taking rank among the poets of our country. He died in 1867.

Mrs. Ethelinda Eliot Beers (1817-1879), who wrote "The Picket Guard," "All Quiet Along the Potomac," and who died the day her collected poems were issued. Philadelphia.

¹ *Genealogy of the Eliot Family*. By William N. Eliot. Revised by William S. Porter. New Haven, 1854.

Henry C. Bowen, Esq., proprietor of the New York *Independent*. His native place, Woodstock, Conn., was first named New Roxbury. Not far from his country seat in that town is the rock, on Plain Hill, from which Eliot preached to Indians of a September morning in 1674. His text was, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." From the years 1843-1858 there were, at different times, seven members of the Eliot Church, Roxbury, Mass., who were descendants of John Eliot.

NOTE 15. — Page 87. The Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., pastor of the West Church in Boston (1747-1766), a son of Experience Mayhew, had one daughter, Elizabeth, who married Peter Wainwright, an Englishman. Their son, Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, became bishop of the diocese of New York, 1852.

NOTE 16. — Page 88. Experience Mayhew, writing in October, 1651: "There are one hundred ninetie-nine men, women, and children that have professed themselves to be worshippers of the great and everliving God. There are now two meetings kept every Lord's Day, the one three miles, the other about eight miles off my house: Hiacomets teacheth twice a day at the nearest, and Mumanequem accordingly at the farthest; the last day of the week they come unto me to be informed touching the subject they are to handle."

NOTE 17. — Page 89. Hubbard says, "But the greatest appearance of any saving work and serious profession of Christianity amongst any of them was at Martin's [Martha's] Vineyard, which, beginning in the year 1645, hath gradually proceeded till this present time, wherein all the island is in a manner leavened with the profession of our religion, and hath taken up the practice of our manners in civil behaviour and our manner of cultivating the earth."

NOTE 18. — Page 91. Experience Mayhew in the preface to his work, *Indian Converts*, says, "Though I could have mentioned many of our Indians who have discovered very probable signs of true repentance in the time of their last and long sicknesses, many of them dying of chronical diseases; yet, consider-

ing the doubtfulness of a deathbed repentance, I have not put any into my catalogue of penitents in whom a remarkable change did not appear while they were well and in health."

NOTE 19. — Page 98. The statement of Dr. Sereno E. Dwight in his edition of Edwards' works (Vol. I, p. 449) is incorrect, so far as concerns Sergeant's use of the language in preaching: "Mr. Sergeant devoted much of his time to the study of their language (the *Mohukaunew*), yet at the close of his life he had not made such progress that he could preach in it, or even pray in it, except by a form."

NOTE 20. — Page 118. Professor Tholuck writes: "It may be said that even among us more awakenings have proceeded from the written lives of those eminent for piety than from books of devotion and printed sermons. We are able, at least in the circle of our own knowledge, to address a great number of Christians — and among them names of the first rank in the religious world — who are indebted essentially to works of biography for the confirmation and stability of their spiritual life. The writer can assert this in regard to himself. He can make such an acknowledgment respecting a book to which he knows that not a few in Europe, America, and Asia will bear a similar testimony. The biography of the missionary Martyn — the man who even among the Persian Mohammedans was known only as the holy — opened also in my own life a new era of religious progress." — *Sonntags Bibliothek*.

NOTE 21. — Page 122. "My soul was full of tenderness and love, even to the most inveterate of my enemies." "I longed that those who, I have reason to think, owe me ill will might be eternally happy. It seemed refreshing to think of meeting them in heaven, how much soever they had injured me on earth; had no disposition to insist upon any confession from them in order to reconciliation and the exercise of love and kindness to them."

NOTE 22. — Page 124. "God sanctified and made meet for his own use that vessel, which he made of large capacity, having endowed him with very uncommon abilities and gifts of nature. He was a singular instance of ready invention,

natural energy, ready flowing expression and sprightly apprehension, quick discerning, and a very strong memory, yet of a very penetrating genius, clear thought, and piercing judgment." — *Edwards' Sermon at Brainerd's Funeral.*

NOTE 23. — Page 128. Kaunaumeeek was sixteen miles east from Albany and about five miles northwest from New Lebanon. Brainerd's Bridge, its present name, is a small village in Rensselaer County, N. Y., which received that name not from David Brainerd, but from Jeremiah Brainerd, a relative of his who settled there and built a bridge across Kinderhook Creek.

NOTE 24. — Page 138. "One man considerably in years, who had been a remarkable drunkard, a conjurer, and a murderer, and was awakened some months before, was now brought to great extremity under his spiritual distress, so that he trembled for hours together, and apprehended himself just dropping into hell without any power to rescue or relieve himself." "I stood amazed at the influence which seized the audience almost universally." "Towards night the Indians met together of their own accord, and sung, and prayed, and discoursed of divine things among themselves, at which time there was much affection among them." Was there an eagerness to learn divine truths? "They are so unwearied in religious exercises, and insatiable in their thirsting after Christian knowledge, that I can sometimes scarcely avoid laboring so as greatly to exhaust my strength and spirits."

How about Sunday and social worship? "The Lord's Day was seriously and religiously observed, and care taken by parents to keep their children orderly upon that sacred day; and this, not because I had driven them to the performance of these duties by frequently inculcating them, but because they had felt the power of God's Word upon their hearts, were made sensible of their sin and misery, and hence could not but pray and comply with everything which they knew to be their duty from what they felt within themselves."

NOTE 25. — Page 142. "I this day met with them and the Indians of this place. Numbers of the latter probably

could not have been prevailed upon to attend this meeting had it not been for these religious Indians, who accompanied me hither and preached to them. Some of those who had in times past been extremely averse to Christianity now behaved soberly, and some others laughed and mocked" (February 17). "My people of Crossweeksung continued with them day and night, repeating and inculcating the truths I had taught them, and sometimes prayed and sung psalms among them."

NOTE 26. — Page 144. He speaks often of "wrestling" with the Lord; of intercession, fervent intercession, as a delight. "Just at night the Lord visited me marvelously in prayer. I think my soul never was in such an agony before. I felt no restraint, for the treasures of divine grace were opened to me. I wrestled for the absent friends, for the ingathering of souls, for multitudes of poor souls, and for many that I thought were the children of God, personally, in many distant places. I was in such an agony from sun half an hour high till near dark that I was all over wet with sweat." "O that the kingdom of the dear Saviour might come with power, and the healing waters of the sanctuary spread far and wide for the healing of the nations!"

NOTE 27. — Page 147. In the cemetery at Northampton the grave of Brainerd is not far from the entrance. On it rests a slab of red sandstone, and on this rests another similar slab two feet higher, supported by fluted pillars, now weather-beaten. In the upper center is a marble slab, inserted in a socket, on which appears this inscription:

"Sacred to the
memory of the
REV. DAVID BRAINERD,
a faithful and laborious
missionary to the
Stockbridge, Delaware,
and Susquehannah
Tribes of Indians.
Who died in this town
Oct. 10, 1747.
Æt. 32."

The corners of the main upper slab have been chipped off, probably by pilfering relic hunters. A former marble tablet, bearing the same inscription as the one now seen, had been chipped and ruined in the same way. Yet even that was not the original one. Mr. Seth Pomeroy, some years since, stated at a public meeting that the cavity was first filled by a leaden tablet, which had been removed during the War of the Revolution and run into bullets for use at the blockade of Boston. The age given, "thirty-two years," is an evident mistake. Brainerd, having been born April 20, 1718, and having died October 9, 1747, lived only twenty-nine years and nearly six months.¹

NOTE 29.—Page 152. *Studiosi Danici non idonei sunt ad hoc opus: illi dediti sunt luxuriæ, crapulæ, ignavæ, scortationibus.* See Germann: *Ziegenbalg und Plütschau*, p. 47. Well for the heathen that such men did not offer their services.

NOTE 30.—Page 162. "Indeed," writes Ziegenbalg, "in the three years I have been in India I have scarcely read a German or a Latin book, but have given up all my time to reading Malabar books; have talked diligently with the heathen, and executed all my business in their tongue, so that now (1709) it is as easy to me as my mother tongue, and in the last two years I have been enabled to write several books in Tamil."

NOTE 31.—Page 163. Tracy's *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, p. 114, where a mistaken statement is added, that it was also the first from the neighborhood of Calcutta on the east to the shores of the Mediterranean on the west.

NOTE 32.—Page 167. Later (1714) the society had occasion to write to Tranquebar, making the timely suggestion, "We do not doubt that your work has been made much easier to you by the printing press which you are now ar-

¹ Styles gives the date of Brainerd's death as Friday, October 6, instead of Tuesday, October 9, 1747.

ranging, but take care that you are not inconsiderately led into so much translation and printing that you do not find sufficient time for constant intercourse with the heathen." Under the skillful superintendence of Mr. P. R. Hunt, formerly of the American Board (1840-1866) at Madras, the missionary press in that city stood at the head of its class in India. Tamil and Telugu typography was much improved.

NOTE 33.—Page 170. Besides his translations of Scripture the following works were published: 1. *Allgemeine Schule der wahren Weisheit*. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1710. 2. *Ausführ. Bericht wie er das Amt des Evangelii unter den Heiden und Christen führe*. 4 Aus., Hallæ, 1735. 3. *Grammatica Damulica*. Hallæ, 1716. 4. *Brevis Delineatio Missionis operis*. Tranquebar, 1717. 5. Numerous extended reports of missionary labor. Remaining in manuscript: 1. *Der Gottgefällige Christenstand*. 2. *Der Gottgefällige Lehrstand*. 3. *Bibliotheca Malabarica*. 4. *Beschreibung des Malabarischen Heidenthums*. 5. *Genealogie der Malabarischen Götter*. 6. *Drei Moralienbüchlein*. 7. *Mehere kleine ascetische Schriften in einem Fascikel*.

NOTE 34.—Page 173. In a sermon entitled "The Joyful Sound Reaching to Both the Indies" the author says, "While our supplications to our Father are thus engaged we shall remember our dear brethren of the Danish mission so far as Malabar, the good news of whose amiable enterprises have been as cool waters to our thirsty souls."—*India Christiana, a discourse to the Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel among American Indians*, by Cotton Mather, D.D. Boston, 1721.

NOTE 35.—Page 183. After his intercourse with the people and princes of Tanjore had begun—the latter being descendants of the Mahratta conquerors—"I learned," he states, "at the request of the king, the Mahratta language, into which I translated a dialogue between a Christian and a heathen, composed by me in the Malabar tongue"—that is the Tamil, for thus did the early missionaries mistakenly designate that language. This was the beginning and the end of Schwartz's labor in the line of authorship. Miss Yonge

remarks justly (*Pioneers and Founders*, p. 54): "Schwartz's facility in learning languages must have been great, for the English of his letter is excellent, unless his biographer, Dean Pearson, has altered it. It is not at all like that of a German."

NOTE 36.—Page 184. A specimen of Schwartz's method. He is addressing an assembly of Mohammedans at Trichinopoly (1770). Two of them have been extolling the merits of good works. Our missionary observes that the real foundation for the remission of sins is Christ's merit and satisfaction. "We are sinners and deserve the wrath of God. Consider his pure and holy nature. The more we think of God and ourselves the more we must be convinced that either we must suffer ourselves the punishment due to our sins, or that another person duly qualified must endure in our stead. This person is no other than Jesus Christ. God has made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; accepting, out of infinite compassion, his atonement, which he has sufficiently demonstrated by his resurrection. He is now the foundation of all grace, so that unless you seek through him the forgiveness of your sins the guilt will rest upon yourselves, and you must bear the punishment." As he approached threescore years and ten, writing to an English lady Schwartz said: "Many of your clergymen make little of a redeemer. Dr. Price's [Richard Price, the Arian] book of sermons was sent me. I opened them; was shocked at his doctrine; cut the book in pieces and burned it. They destroy the foundation of true happiness and true holiness. What can they build?"

NOTE 37.—Page 191. "Ich stehe an den Pforten der Ewigkeit," he once wrote to a friend. Of the period from 1780 to 1783 he writes, "Often more than eight hundred of the poor and hungry were standing before our door."

NOTE 38.—Page 200. Hüttemann, thirty-one years; Cnoll, thirty-five years; Breithaupt, thirty-six years; Gericke, thirty-six years; Zeglin, forty years; Pohle, forty-one years; John, forty-three years; Klein, forty-four years; Cämmerer, forty-six years; Schwartz, forty-eight years; Fabricius, fifty years;

Kohlhoff (father), fifty-three years; Kohlhoff (son, born in India), fifty-seven years; Rottler, fifty-eight years; Kiernander, fifty-nine years. In his *History of Missions*, Vol. I, p. 176, Dr. Brown says, "Schultze, after having been twenty-four years in India, returned to Halle, and it appears he lived till 1799, when he must probably have been upwards of one hundred years old, as he came to India in 1719." Schultze, however, died in 1760, aged 71.

NOTE 39.—Page 201. Another monument, at the expense of the East India Company and executed by the sculptor Bacon, was placed in the Fort Church at Madras. At the same time, however, the company would gladly have excluded Carey from the neighborhood of Calcutta; but happily they had no control over the little Danish territory of Serampore.

NOTE 40.—Page 205. The financial affairs of the mission were not always well administered. Such definite arrangements for the treasurership, for accounts and responsibility in disbursements, as should be maintained by every mission did not exist. Hence there sometimes arose jealousies, suspicions, and accusations. Indiscreet expenditures were made, and in general there appears to have been a looseness which, together with the conflict of individual opinions upon certain matters, could not result otherwise than in alienations. These divisions became deplorable at times, and were a scandal among lookers-on, most of whom had no good will toward evangelistic work.

NOTE 41.—Page 205. The pecuniary aid afforded by the Christian Knowledge Society and the personal reënforcement for a short time of Messrs. Schnarre and Rhenius, together with a remittance of eighteen hundred pounds sterling in one year (1816) from the king of Denmark, failed to bring recuperation. A few years later that part of the field containing eleven small church buildings, with the property pertaining thereto, eleven catechists, and thirteen hundred Christians, which lay within the province of Tanjore and was subject to England, Cämmerer made over to the society above named.

NOTE 42.—Page 206. Dr. Buchanan remarks (1806), “Kohlhoff stated that there were upwards of ten thousand Protestant Christians belonging to the Tanjore and Tinnevely districts alone who had not among them one complete volume of the Bible, and that not one Christian, perhaps, in a hundred had a New Testament; and yet there are some copies of the Tamil Scriptures to be sold at Tranquebar, but the poor natives cannot afford to purchase them.”

NOTE 43.—Page 209. Sherring's *Protestant Missions*, p. 158. Mr. Sherring's later estimate is five sixths of the converts in the various missions. See *Proceedings of the London Conference*, p. 118.

NOTE 44.—Page 209. It might be supposed that Serfoge, the native prince who manifested such tearful respect for his guardian, Schwartz, would embrace the religion of his benefactor and follow in the steps of that good man. But a missionary of the American Board wrote, in 1828, regarding him: “The rajah has become very unfriendly to missionaries. He has yielded himself up to dissipation, and given immense sums to the Brahmins and to the temples to make himself a Brahmin.”—*Rev. Mr. Winslow, Missionary Herald, Vol. XXV, p. 145.*

NOTE 45.—Page 222. *Hough, III, 332.* “The deists, together with many careless professors of Christianity among the Danes, treated the missionaries and their instructions with contempt—conduct which they seldom experienced from the heathen, who, though unwilling to embrace the gospel, very rarely thought of reviling its doctrines or precepts. Under the Danish government the public servants had never been allowed to molest the Christians; but unhappily the British authorities at Madras had thought proper to patronize the idolatries of the country in a way that was all but tantamount to identifying themselves with the worst abominations of Hindu superstition. The native officers at Tranquebar, presuming upon this concession on the part of their new masters, compelled the poor Christians to assist at the heathen festivals and to attend their public ceremonies.”—*Hough, III, 347-349.* “There were, in truth, no outward motives to pre-

serve morality of conduct or even decency of demeanor; so, from the moment of their landing upon the shores of India, the first settlers cast off all those bonds which had restrained them in their native villages. They regarded themselves as privileged beings—privileged to violate all the obligations of religion and morality and to outrage all the decencies of life. They who went thither were often desperate adventurers, whom England, in the emphatic language of the Scripture, had spewed out—men who sought those golden sands of the East to repair their broken fortunes, to bury in oblivion a sullied name, or to wring with lawless hand from the weak and unsuspecting wealth which they had not the character or the capacity to obtain by honest industry at home. They cheated; they gambled; they drank; they reveled in all kinds of debauchery. Associates in vice, linked together by a common bond of rapacity, they still often pursued one another with desperate malice, and, few though they were in numbers, among them there was no fellowship, except a fellowship of crime.”—*John William Kaye, in Christianity in India. London, 1859. Pp. 45, 46.*

NOTE 46.—Page 223. Geisler became an unbeliever and opposer. Bövingh sided with enemies of the mission. Three—Bosse, Hutter, and Früchtenicht—became intemperate. The first married a wife of the same habits, and was discharged; the last named became a brazen-faced drunkard and quarrelsome bully, insulting and threatening his colleagues, and even appearing at church on Christmas in a state of intoxication. Hüttemann could write (1779): “Der Kirche Jesu ist an solchen Proselyten wie Malabaren, Nicobaren Grönlandern, Eskimos wenig gelegen. Alle diese Nationen sind eine Art Affengeschlecht, die müssen erst zu Menschen werden, ehe das Christenthum ihren mit Nutzen gepredigt wird.”—*Germann's Leben Schwartz, S. 289.*

NOTE 47.—Page 225. The list might be extended by inserting the names which here follow and many more: Sir Charles Aitchison, Sir Charles Barnard, Sir Thomas Candy, Sir Henry Durand, Sir Vincent Eyre, Sir Robert Montgomery, Sir Richmond Shakespear, Sir Rivers Thompson.

NOTE 48. — Page 225. Mr. Sherring (*Protestant Missions in India*, p. 28) and others are mistaken in placing Calcutta on the list of the Danish missions. Kiernander, a Swede by birth, was, even at Cuddalore, and not less at Calcutta (1758), entirely under the direction of the English Christian Knowledge Society, and for a time was supported by the same. After marrying a rich widow he no longer required aid from that source, but lived in a showy and luxurious style till pecuniary reverses necessitated a change.

NOTE 49. — Page 228. In 1708 a public disputation, "De Pseudo-Apostolis," was held at Wittenberg, under the presidency of Dr. Neumann, in which it was more than intimated that Ziegenbalg and Plütschau were false apostles and would do mischief in Tranquebar.

NOTE 50. — Page 235. Such timber as is found comes for the most part from Siberia, carried down by a current between Spitzbergen and the east coast of Greenland to Cape Farewell, thence it drifts upward along the west coast, and by winds and currents is carried ashore even as far north as Holsteinberg. — *Graak's Expedition*, p. 24.

NOTE 51. — Page 238. Bishop Krog appears to have been as little acquainted with the true missionary spirit as with geography. He persistently opposed Thomas von Westen, who showed such laudable zeal in behalf of the Finns. See Vormbaum's *von Westen*. Nor was he wholly peculiar in his geographical conceptions. Archbishop Lorenzana, quoted in Prescott's *Mexico*, I, p. 4 (note), says, "It is doubtful if the country of New Spain does not border on Tartary and Greenland — by way of California on the former, and by New Mexico on the latter."

NOTE 52. — Page 250. Reënforcements were sent out — in 1723 Albert Top, whose health broke down, and who after four years was obliged to return home; in 1728 two colleagues, Olaus Lange and Henry Milzorg; in 1731 a Mr. Olmsorg. But Paul Egede, the eldest son of the missionary, rendered far more efficient service than any other one. Indeed, from twelve years of age onward he was his father's assist-

ant. He studied four years at Copenhagen, and returned (1735) as missionary of a colony planted at Disco. Afterwards he presided over the station at Christian's Hope till 1740, when he removed to Copenhagen, there becoming a member of the College of Missions, director of the Hospital for Orphans, and at length Bishop of Greenland. He continued indefatigable in his efforts to promote the welfare of the enterprise; published a Greenland grammar in Danish and Latin; a dictionary in the same manner; a translation into Eskimo of the New Testament and portions of the Old, as well as Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* and several Danish prayers and liturgies. He also prepared a work entitled *Information on Greenland*, which is one of the treasures of Danish literature. He died in Denmark, 1789, at the age of eighty-one.

NOTE 53.—Page 282. In earlier days very few except uneducated laborers were sent out. Afterwards there was occasionally a scholarly man, and in recent years there has been an increasing number of well-educated men. At Niesky, in Silesia, there is now a training institution, established in 1869. A glance at the literary labors of missionaries in Greenland, Labrador, among the Indians of North, Central, and South America, South Africa, and Thibet shows that they have made very important contributions to various vernaculars. See *The Literary Works of the Foreign Missionaries of the Moravian Church*, by the Rev. G. Reichel, of Herrnhut, Saxony, translated and annotated by Bishop Edmund De Schweinitz.

NOTE 54.—Page 283. In the course of the first fifty years one hundred and sixty missionaries died in the West Indies. During the first year of labor in Surinam thirty-nine missionaries and twenty-one wives of missionaries died.

NOTE 55.—Page 286. A savage Indian entered the hut of the faithful Moravian, Mack, near what is now Newtown, Fairfield County, Connecticut, and said to unfaithful English colonists there, "You ought to be ashamed of yourselves, to have been so long among us and never to have told us anything of what we hear from this man."

INDEX.

- ABYSSINIA, 16, 17, 263, 293.
 Acquiring vernaculars, 303-304.
 Adaptation of Christianity, 275.
 Adolphus, Gustavus, 13, 14.
 Alleine, Joseph, 43.
 Alva, Duke, 23, 24.
 Amboyne, 28.
 Anglo-Saxons, 149.
 Arctic regions, 233-236, 255.
 Augustine, 126.
 BACH, 87.
 Ball's River, 244.
 Batavia, 30, 37.
 Bancroft, Bishop, 47.
 Banyan tree, 158.
 Barber, Jonathan, 111.
 Baxter, R., 79, 80.
 Bede, 65.
 Beers, Mrs. E. Eliot, 298.
 Bergen, 241, 242, 247.
 Beveridge, Bishop, 125.
 Bible Society, British and Foreign,
 14.
 Bible translations, 170.
 Boles, John, 11.
 Bogatsky, 179.
 Boston, 70, 297.
 Bönisch, Frederick, 87.
 Bourne, Joseph, 93.
 Bövingh, 166.
 Bowen, Henry C., 110, 299.
 Boyle, Robert, 45, 52, 126.
 Brainerd, David, 283, 300-303.
 Branford, 110.
 Brant, 114.
 Brazil, 9, 12.
 Brotherton, 114.
 Bunyan, 122.
 Burr, President, 122, 127.
 CALVIN, JOHN, 10.
 Campanius, 15.
 Candidius, George, 39.
 Carne, 62.
 Carnatic, 188.
 Caste, 198-195, 211-213.
 Celebes, 36.
 Celibacy, 195-196.
 Chalmers, Dr., 118.
 Chapel built, 163.
 Charles V., 10, 23.
 Charles XII, 241.
 Charters, 50.
 Christian VI, 248.
 Christian laymen, 224-225, 308.
 Christian loyalty, 273-275.
 Christians, nominal, 164.
 Civilization, 261.
 Clap, President, 122.
 Climate of New England, 60.
 Clive, 174, 181.
 Coincidences, 279.
 Coigny, 9.
 Colonial evangelism, 49.
 Colonial labors, 264-265.
 Columbus, 50, 243.
 Conference of 1888, 4.
 Constance, 261-262.
 Conversion of Europeans, 229-232.
 Conversion of Indians, 68.
 Converts, Indian, 138-143.
 Copenhagen, 154, 156.
 Cotton, John, 91, 95.
 Cotton, Josiah, 94.
 Cotton, Rowland, 93.
 Cowper, 126.
 Coxinga, 30.
 Cromwell, 41, 44.
 Crossweeksung, 132.
 Cutshamakin, 61.
 DANES IN INDIA, 151, 159-161, 167.
 Danforth, Samuel, 96.
 Dankaerts, 28.
 Dartmouth College, 113.
 Dartmouth, Earl, 112.
 Davenport, James, 126.
 Delaware Indians, 129, 131, 133.
 Denmark, 148-152, 160, 204, 226-227,
 259.
 Dickinson, Jonathan, 127.
 Discipline, 262.
 Diversities, 219-220.
 Dober, Leonard, 278.
 Dutch, 11, 264-265.

Dutch East India Company, 264.
Dutch societies, 35.

EAST INDIES, 26, 35.
Eastham, 94.
Eckhart, 123.
Edgartown, 83, 85.
Edwards, Jonathan, 101-103, 122,
124-125, 147.
Edwards, Jonathan, Jr., 103.
Egede, Gertrude, 239, 246-249.
Egede, Hans, 236-260, 266.
Egede, Paul, 309-310.
Eliot, C. W., 298.
Eliot, John, 15, 52-81, 110, 155, 263,
294-298.
Eliot, Jared, 298.
Eliot, Joseph, 298.
Elizabeth Islands, 83.
England, 169, 180-181, 228-229.
English intolerance, 42.
English Reformation, 40.
Erasmus, 6.
Eschatology, 8.
Eskimos, 244, 263.

FAMINE, 219.
Fidelity, 284.
Finland, 13.
Finley, Rev. Samuel, 121.
Fitch, James, 111.
Formosa, 30, 37, 293.
Fox, George, 126.
Francke, A. H., 154, 160, 177.
Frederick IV, 150-151, 155, 164, 242.
Frederick the Great, 175, 177.
Frederick William I, 268.
Frobisher, 43.

GAYHEAD, 84, 92.
Geekie, Dr., 78, 80, 256.
Gellert, 126, 175.
George I, 228.
Gleim, 176.
Gobat, Bishop, 17.
Gookin, Daniel, 96, 110.
Gookin, General, 95, 296-297.
Government neutrality, 38.
Greenland, 235, 260.
Grotius, 29, 45.
Gründler, 165.
Guiana, 31.

HALL, GORDON, 131, 174.
Halle, 152-153.
Halleck, Fitz-Greene, 298.
Hawley, Gideon, 93, 103.
Heber, 188.
Helgoland, 156.
Henry VIII, 41.
Herrnhut, 262, 266, 270, 277.
Heroism, 254.

Heurnius, J., 27.
Heyling, Peter, 15-17.
Hiacomies, 85, 89, 299.
Hilarion, 117.
Hiller, 179.
Holden, Samuel, 99.
Hold-with-Hope, 248.
Holland, 22, 26, 264-265.
Hollis, Isaac, 99.
Hooker, Thomas, 53, 106.
Hoole, Rev. Mr., 195.
Hopkins, Mark, 100.
Hopkins, Samuel, 120.
Hornhonius, 51.
Horton, Azariah, 127, 131.
Huntington, Mrs. Susan, 298.
Huss, John, 261, 288.
Hyde, Thomas, 44, 45.
Hyder, Ali, 188, 190, 217.

INDIA, 30, 157-159, 171.
Indians, 52.
Indian churches, 69-71.
Indian converts, 87-91, 299.
Indian decadence, 78.
Indian industry, 62.
Indian language, 55.
Indian outrages, 75-76.
Indians wronged, 74-75.
Individual movements, 42.
Innuits, 245.
Isenberg, 17.

JAMES I, 41, 46.
Java, 26, 36.
Jerome, 65, 117.
John, C. F., 212.
Jordan, Polycarp, 166.
Judson, A. H., 174.
Junius, R., 30.

KAUNAUMEK, 128.
Kiernander, 309.
Klopstock, 175.
Kohlhoff, 193.
Krapf, 17.
Krog, Bishop, 238-239, 309.

LAKE, Dr., 44.
Lapland, 13, 14.
Laud, Archbishop, 47.
Lessing, 175.
Linner, Martin, 280.
Literature, Christian, 225-226.
Longevity of missionaries, 305.
Lorenzana, Archbishop, 309.
Loyalty to Christ, 271-273.
Lütkins, Dr., 152, 227.
Luther, 7, 9, 65, 183.

MACAULAY, LORD, 207.
Malcolm, Howard, 207.

Manomet, 95.
 Marsden, 118.
 Marshall, 172.
 Marshpee, 93.
 Martha's Vineyard, 83, 84, 88, 299.
 Martyr, Henry, 118.
 Massachusetts Colony, 51.
 Mather, Cotton, 172, 304.
 Mather, Increase, 81.
 Maurice, John, 31, 32.
 Maximilian, 6.
 Mayhew, Experience, 86, 88.
 Mayhew, John, 86, 174.
 Mayhew, Jonathan, 299.
 Mayhew, Thomas, 83-84, 88.
 Mayhew, Thomas, Jr., 83-84, 85.
 Mayhew, Zechariah, 87-88.
 Mercenary motives, 33-35.
 Michaelis, 176.
 Mills, S. J., 174.
 Mission decline, 204-207.
 Mission press, 303.
 Mission schools, 214.
 Mission stations, new, 225.
 Missionary college, 28.
 Missionary mistakes, 4.
 Missionary mortality, 310.
 Mitchell, Elisha, 298.
 Mohammedanism, 38.
 Mohegans, 111, 114.
 Moor, Joshua, 113.
 Moravians, 111, 264, 270-281.
 Moravian literature, 310.
 Motive power, 271-273.
 Mumford, Hannah, 298.

 NANTUCKET, 83, 92.
 Narragansets, 106.
 Natick, 61, 70, 71.
 New England churches, 265.
 New Stockbridge, 104-105.
 New Sweden, 15.
 Niantics, 108-109.
 Niles, Samuel, 109.
 Ninigret, 109.
 Nipmuck country, 110.
 Nitschmann, David, 280.
 Nominal Christians, 221-224, 307-308.
 Nonantum, 59, 61.
 Northmen, 149.
 Norway, 237.
 Norwich, 111.

 OCCOM, SAMSON, 104, 112-115.
 Olaf, 13.
 Ormuz, 3.
 Oxenbridge, John, 43.
 Oxenstiern, 15.

 PARK, JOSEPH, 108.
 Parliament petitioned, 44.

Parsons, Levi, 118.
 Pastorate, native, 213-214.
 Paul, Moses, 115.
 Persecution, 218.
 Philip of Narraganset, 61, 74.
 Philip II, 10, 23.
 Pierson, Abraham, 110.
 Pietism, 268-269.
 Pilgrims and Puritans, 52, 262.
 Plütschau, 152, 154, 160, 168.
 Plymouth, 95.
 Pocock, Edward, 45.
 Portuguese, 26, 161.
 Prayer, 297.
 "Praying Indians," 70, 74.
 Preaching Christ, 184.
 Prideaux, Dean, 45.
 Prison, 165.
 Propaganda, 29.
 Pulcat, 31.
 Pulsnitz, 153.

 QUINCY, JOSIAH, 298.

 RANDULF, BISHOP, 238.
 Rationalism, 268.
 Rauch, Christian Henry, 111.
 Rawson, Grindall, 96.
 Reflex results, 226.
 Reformation period, 5.
 Relations vague, 203.
 Reproach for neglect, 310.
 Rhemish Missionary Society, 37.
 Rhode Island, 106.
 Roman Catholics, 218.
 Roxbury, 56.
 Rutherford, 125.
 Ryland, Dr., 117.

 SANDWICH, 94.
 Saying, not doing, 282.
 Scatticookes, 112.
 Schultze, 176, 181-182.
 Schwartz, C. F., 176-204, 304.
 Secular motives, 208-210.
 Semler, 176.
 Separatists, 125.
 Serfgeoe, 192, 307.
 Sergeant, John, 97-100, 128, 300.
 Sergeant, John, Jr., 104.
 Serringham, 187.
 Service, brief, 32.
 Sewall, Samuel, 105.
 Side pursuits, 215-216.
 Sifting period, 291.
 Simons, James, 109.
 Skroellings, 244.
 Small causes, 275-288.
 Smallpox, 249.
 Societies in United States, 48.
 Spiritual results, 250, 252.
 State relations, 220-221.

St. Chrischona, 17.
 Stockbridge, 97-101.
 Stolberg, Countess, 281.
 Strong, Job, 140.
 Superficiality, 33, 208-210.
 Surinam, 20.
 Sweden, 12.
 Swedenborg, 186.

TACKAWOMPBAIT, 78, 109.
 Tamil, 170.
 Tanjore, 167, 186, 190.
 Tawanquatuck, 89, 90.
 Tenison, Archbishop, 46.
 Tennent, William, 140.
 Ten tribes, 57.
 Tersteegen, 179.
 Thatcher, Peter, 96.
 Tholuck, Professor, 118, 300.
 Thompson, William, 109.
 Tinnevely, 185.
 Tisbury, 86, 91.
 Torrey, Josiah, 91.
 Tranquebar, 156, 159, 204, 205.
 Treat, Samuel, 94.
 Trichinopoly, 186-187, 196, 203.
 Tuljajee, 191.
 Tupper, Thomas, 94.
 Tyerman and Bennet, 206.

ULFILAS, 192.
 Unworthy missionaries, 308.
 Ursinus, 19.
 Usefulness, 258.

VAAGEN, 236.
 Vanderkemp, 35.
 Vans Kenneday, 223.
 Vernaculars, 33.
 Villegagnon, 10-12.
 Voltaire, 270.
 Von der Linde, 154.
 Von Welz, 17-19.

WABAN, 61.
 Wake, Archdeacon, 228.
 Walsæus, 28.
 Waldo, Peter, 65.
 Wales, Prince of, 99.
 Wampanoags, 106.
 Warneck, 9, 77.
 Watts, Isaac, 98.
 Wesleyanism, 271.
 West, Stephen, 104.
 Westerly, 108.
 Wheelock, Eleazer, 112-114.
 William the Silent, 25.
 Williams, Roger, 106-108.
 Wiswall, Samuel, 92.
 Woodbridge, Timothy, 99.

YONGE, C. M., 70.

ZEISBERGER, 88.
 Ziegenbalg, 152, 160, 162, 164-174,
 188, 228, 309.
 Zinzendorf, 20, 267-269, 281.